

Vol. XIII. Part II.  
No. 3.

MARCH, 1921

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# CURRENT HISTORY



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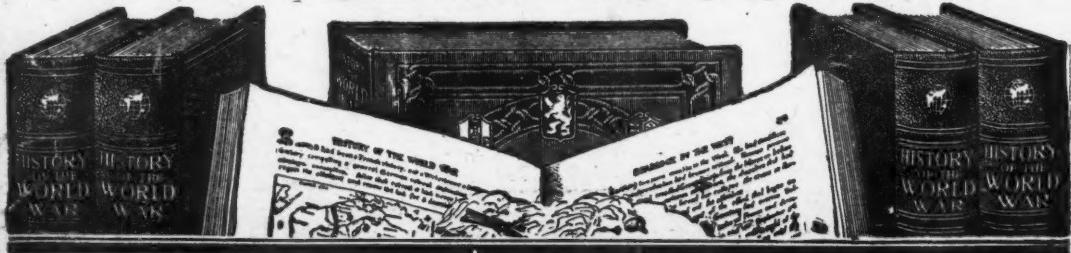
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# CURRENT HISTORY

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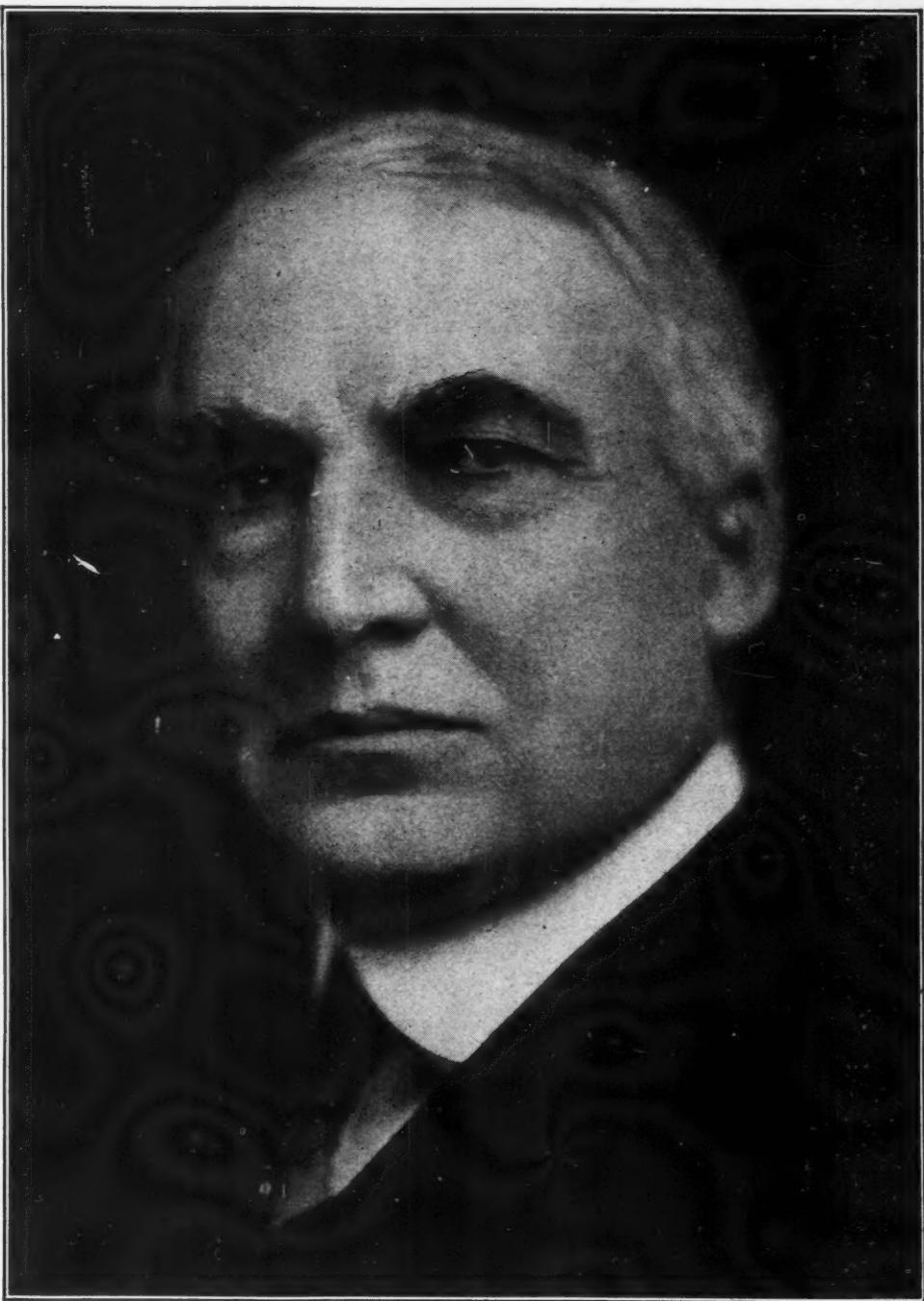
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PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING



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VICE PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE

# BLUE LAWS IN AMERICA

BY FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

*Source and vitality of the movement to revive stringent Sunday legislation—Nature of the present laws—Intent of such laws shown to be economic rather than religious—Amusing samples of old Colonial statutes—Status of “movies” in blue law campaign*

A MOVEMENT that may fairly be called nation-wide, looking toward the stricter enforcement of Sunday observance statutes, now in existence, and to the enactment in many States of laws still further restricting the activities of individuals on Sunday, began to take form in the closing months of 1920. With the convening of State Legislatures at the beginning of 1921, the advocates of so-called "blue laws" were engaged in pressing a program of Sunday observance legislation in a score or more of States, while the opponents of such restrictive legislation were marshaling their forces for a fight to the bitter end.

Whether the Sunday observance movement fathered by the Lord's Day Alliance, an organization of Protestant clergymen and churches, and by the International Reform Union, which, among other things, has been active in the campaign against the sale and use of cigarettes, has behind it that overwhelming public sentiment without which its efforts must ultimately prove futile, there is no means of determining or even of estimating with any approach to accuracy. It is easier to catalogue the principal elements of the opposition. These fall naturally into three classes:

1. The large and growing number of persons of the Christian faith who see no conflict between their religious beliefs and professions and the enjoyment of outdoor sports on Sunday.
2. Adherents of other religious faiths to whom Sunday is not a holy day.
3. Those who derive or seek a commercial profit from the lifting of legal restrictions from Sunday baseball, theatres, motion picture shows, &c.

Arrayed upon the other side are chiefly the ministers and governing bodies of the so-called Evangelical Protestant Churches, including the Presbyterians, Methodists,

Baptists and the numerous other denominations of Calvinistic and Wesleyan traditions. The Protestant Episcopal Church generally is taking little or no part in the movement, while the Lutheran Church, both German and Swedish, having brought to America its tradition of the "Continental Sunday," is not aiding in the cause of the blue laws.

The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, in the person of large numbers of its priests, many bishops and some archbishops, is vigorously opposed to every effort to suppress or restrict wholesome recreation on Sunday. The largest active body of Catholic laymen, the Knights of Columbus, is an active participant in the organized opposition to the proposed restrictions.

## CHIEF POINTS OF ATTACK

The chief point on which the Sunday observance advocates are focusing their attack is that of commercialized amusements. Prohibition everywhere of Sunday professional baseball and Sunday motion picture shows, still forbidden by law in many States, is sought in substantially all the statements of the "blue law" advocates' program. The closing of all amusement resorts to which an admission fee is charged and the restriction of Sunday travel to the minimum necessary operation of railroad trains for the transportation of perishable goods, and of street railways for the transportation of passengers to and from their places of worship, are among the objects sought in several States and by different active groups. In several sections of the country there are said to be well-organized movements afoot opposed to Sunday motor-ing, Sunday golf and Sunday fishing. In

many States the movement has taken the form of insistence that the local authorities proceed to enforce literally the Sunday observance laws now on the statute books.

It is no departure from the rule of impartiality that should govern the recorder of history to point out that this revival of the ancient Sabbatarian spirit is directly contrary to the tendency that has been manifest in the history of legislation in the United States in recent years. Examination of the statutes of all the States reveals a substantially uniform tendency toward greater liberalization of the Sunday laws; in those States where the statutes still stand as they were a hundred years ago they have come to be more and more generally disregarded and court decisions have established, in many instances, formidable bars to their literal enforcement.

#### EARLY COLONIAL LAWS

To go no further back into history than the establishment of English-speaking Colonies in America, leaving out of consideration the laws of the Holy Roman Empire against Sunday theatres and circuses, the edict of the Saxon, Ethelred, against Sunday hunting, and the statute of Edward VI. requiring everybody to go to church on Sunday, we find in the early Colonial records a body of Sunday, or Sabbath, so-called, laws that constitute the point of departure from which all subsequent legislation on the subject derives. Most famous among these earlier codes, if not the most important, were the "Blue Laws" of Connecticut, first given public prominence by the Rev. Samuel Peters in his "General History of Connecticut," originally published in London in 1781.

The Rev. Mr. Peters was a clergyman of the Church of England who went out to the Connecticut Colony in the middle of the eighteenth century. As a Loyalist he found himself unpopular in the troublous times preceding the American Revolution, and in 1774 he fled the Colony and returned to England. When his book appeared seven years later it was greeted with a storm of denunciation in America. Patriotism and State pride have led so many commentators to deny the existence of the "blue laws" cited by Mr. Peters that it has become the current belief that his catalogue of statutory

offenses alleged to prevail in the Colony of Connecticut was a satirical fabrication out of whole cloth. But while it is literally true that none of the "blue laws" ever stood on the Connecticut statute books in the precise form in which the reverend historian quotes them—he acknowledged that he had never seen them in print and was setting them down from memory—extensive research by Walter F. Prince and other historians bears out the statement that laws substantially to the same effect were in existence and enforced, either in Connecticut or in the neighboring Theistic Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Hearing of the punishment meted out under these laws, and so having them fixed in his memory, it does not discredit Mr. Peters to point out that some of the laws he attributes to Connecticut were actually the laws of Massachusetts.

#### TYPICAL "BLUE LAWS"

Such of the forty-eight "blue laws" cited by Mr. Peters as relate to Sunday observance he set down thus:

*No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting.*

*No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair or shave on the Sabbath day.*

*No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day.*

This last was deduced by Mr. Peters, apparently, from the record of the imposition of a fine of ten shillings by the Colony of Massachusetts upon a certain seafaring man and his wife when, his ship arriving in port on a Sunday, she met him on the wharf and, forgetful for the moment of the reverence due the day, greeted him with a kiss, to the desecration of the Sabbath.

The two other "blue laws" quoted were typical of the Sunday-observance statutes that prevailed in nearly all the American Colonies in the eighteenth century and continued in several States for a long time after the Revolution. In Virginia the laws compelling every one to attend church at least once a month carried heavy penalties for a second offense, and for a third offense the offender was liable to be sold into slavery! In 1670 John Lewis and Sarah Chapman were prosecuted in New London "for sitting together on the Lord's Day under an apple tree in Goodman Chapman's orchard."

### SABBATH IN THE OLD DAYS

Sunday was a day of gloom rather than of happiness. Let us look at the picture of it as the Rev. Mr. Peters paints it:

On Saturday evenings [the Colonial "Sabbath"] began at sundown on Saturday] the people look sour and sad; on the Sabbath they appear to have lost their dearest friends and are almost speechless, and walk softly; they even observe it with more exactness than ever did the Jews. A Quaker preacher told them, with much truth, that they worshipped the Sabbath and not the God of the Sabbath. Those hospitable people without charity condemned the Quaker as a blasphemer of the holy Sabbath, fined, tarred and feathered him, put a rope about his neck and plunged him into the sea; but he escaped with life, though he was above 70 years of age. In 1750 an Episcopal clergyman, born and educated in England [one shrewdly suspects this to be a bit of autobiography, who had been in holy orders above twenty years, once broke their Sabbatical law by combing a discomposed lock of hair on the top of his wig; at another time by making a humming noise, which they called a whistling; at a third time by walking too fast from church; at a fourth by running into a church when it rained; at a fifth by walking in his garden, and picking a bunch of grapes; for which several crimes he was complained of by the Grand Jury and had warrants granted against him, was seized, brought to trial and paid a considerable sum of money.

### PRESENT SUNDAY LAWS

How far we have departed from the ancient Sabbatical code is illustrated by the fact that in several States there are no Sunday observance laws of any sort on the books; that in many others Sunday theatres and Sunday sports of various kinds are specifically permitted by law, and that there is not a single State that forbids any of the "crimes" mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

The subject is one that is almost entirely under the control of the individual States; Federal statutes on the subject of Sunday observance merely prohibit the opening of certain classes of Post Offices on Sunday for the delivery of mail, provide for compensatory time off or extra pay for certain classes of Government employes when required to work on Sundays, forbid shipmasters to call upon their crews for unnecessary work on Sundays when their ships are in safe harbors, and provide that no studies shall be required on Sunday in the military and naval academies. There

Federal legislation on the subject ends. Nor are the efforts made from time to time to induce Congress to enact a general Federal Sunday observance law to be regarded as anything more than a harmless amusement on the part of their promoters.

It is to the statute books of the sovereign States, therefore, that we must turn for a clear picture of the popular mind on the subject. And here we note at a glance two specific tendencies, apparently in opposite directions but actually both arising from the same source. This source is the increasing observance of Sunday as a day of recreation. To this source we can trace, on the one hand, the restrictions that in the last few years have been more and more tightly imposed upon the pursuit of ordinary business and labor on Sunday, and on the other hand the removal of the old restrictions upon sports and pastimes of all sorts. So we find in the statutes of the States numerous specific prohibitions and far-reaching general prohibitions of labor and business pursued for profit on Sunday, many of them enacted at the instance of labor organizations and other groups having no common religious ground or purpose. There are few States, for example, where it is legal for a barber to ply his trade, in a barber shop or privately, on Sunday, under any circumstances; New York permits barbers to work on Sundays only before 1 o'clock, and only in the City of New York and the Village of Saratoga Springs. This nation-wide liberation of the barber from Sunday labor was brought about through the activity of the Barbers' Union over a long period of years, and has for its purpose the securing to a class of workmen whose ordinary labor is performed indoors, under confining conditions, an opportunity to spend one day in the week in outdoor sports and recreations.

### INTENT OF LAWS NOT RELIGIOUS

The legal basis upon which the statutes against Sunday labor rest is, in fact, entirely that of the inherent right of every person, on hygienic grounds alone, to one day of leisure in seven. While the laws of the States quite uniformly forbid any business, labor, sport or other activity that tends to disturb congregations engaged in

religious worship, the attribution of a special sanctity to the day is evident in only a very few of the Sunday laws of this group. Evidence of this is found in the provision, contained in the laws of all but half a dozen States, that the Sunday labor law does not apply to, nor its penalties run against, any member of a religious sect which habitually observes another than Sunday as the weekly day of rest; it is confirmed by the provision in many of the most stringent statutes against Sunday labor that it may be permitted, under a wide range of conditions, provided any person compelled thus to work on Sunday is given another "day off" each week to compensate therefor.

That there is a strong and growing public sentiment against the compulsion of Sunday labor in the ordinary weekday occupations is quite clear, but this public sentiment, as expressed in the statutes of the States, does not extend to occupations that are necessary to be performed by a few for the greater pleasure and convenience of the many. Thus, there are to be found in the statutes of all the the States that have Sunday laws of any description, specific permissions for the conduct on Sunday of such businesses as hotels and restaurants, drug stores, soda fountains, news stands, tobacco shops, confectionery and soft drink establishments, bakeries and dealers in cooked meats and foodstuffs. Livery stables and public garages are permitted to operate in nearly all States by specific statute, and in many the sale of gasoline, feed for horses and other incidental necessities of Sunday travel for business or pleasure is likewise specifically permitted.

#### PURELY COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS FORBIDDEN

Broadly, it may fairly be said that the laws against labor and business on Sunday, which were originally, in the older States at least, completely prohibitive of such activities, have been so liberalized by stretching the always excepted "works of mercy and necessity," and by specific statutory exemptions, as to permit any work that makes it easier for the great body of people to enjoy Sunday as a day of pleasure and recreation. The liberalization of the Sunday labor laws stops there, however. The

prohibitions against the operation of factories and mills, the opening of stores for the sale of general merchandise, and other purely commercial operations that can as well be performed on other days as on Sunday without inconveniencing any considerable number of persons, instead of being loosened, have been tightened in many States which were for a time rather lax in respect of Sunday trading, and the tendency seems to be toward still further tightening.

Some interesting illustrations of the way in which Sunday laws have been modified are to be found in the statutes governing the operation of railway trains. These, of course, do not derive from any Colonial statutes, except as the latter contained prohibitions against travel on the Sabbath day. In Connecticut and several other Eastern States all operation of railway trains on Sunday was forbidden by law for a number of years. Subsequent statutes have established exceptions to the general rule. In Connecticut today it is illegal for a railroad company to operate a train on Sunday without special permission of the Public Service Commission, which can be granted only on the ground of necessity; no excursion trains whatever may be legally run in Connecticut on Sunday. Georgia forbids the operation of freight trains on Sunday except live stock trains running behind their schedules, trains carrying fresh vegetables or fruit arriving in the State on Sunday morning and solid freight trains from outside the State. Massachusetts and Vermont require special permission from the Public Service Commission before any trains may be operated. The New Jersey law, strictly enforced, would prohibit the operation of all railroad trains on Sunday except milk trains, trains carrying the United States mail and one passenger train each way on each railroad in the State. No other State forbids the Sunday operation of passenger trains, but North Carolina and Virginia prohibit the moving of freight trains except in interstate commerce.

#### SUNDAY SPORTS✓

There is no agitation of consequence either for or against further restriction of railroad operation on Sunday, this indicating that present laws are regarded as reasonably satisfactory both to the Sabatarians and to the public at large. The

vital issue about which the present controversy rages is that of Sunday sports and amusements, and it is in this field that we find the widest diversity of legislation in force, as well as the most pronounced tendency toward liberalization.

The laws governing Sunday sport range all the way from the complete freedom permitted in Arizona and New Mexico, which alone among the States have no Sunday observance statutes of any sort, to the rigid restrictions imposed by the State of New Jersey, which forbids "shooting, fishing, sporting, hunting, gunning, racing, or frequenting of tippling houses, or any interludes, or plays, dancing, singing, fiddling or other music for the sake of merriment, nor any playing at football, fives, nine-pins, bowls, long bullets or quoits, nor any other kind of playing, sports, pastimes or diversions." The language of the New Jersey statute carries its own internal evidence of its antiquity; it harks back to the days of Cromwell and the Long Parliament. But in the New Jersey statutes, as in those of many other States, there is a loophole for Sunday golfers and sportsmen in the form of authority to local government bodies, including city councils, to provide their own regulatory ordinances.

#### ANCIENT STATUTES STILL UNREPEALED

Still unrepealed on the statute books of many States are Sunday laws of equal or greater antiquity. That of South Carolina contains much of the identical language of the edict of James I., who, in 1618, granted royal authority to all his subjects to amuse themselves after evening service on Sunday in dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, May games, &c.; but specifically forbade bull-baiting, bear-baiting and interludes on Sunday; Charles I. in 1625 modified this by forbidding persons to go outside their own parishes to engage in such sports on Sunday, thus establishing a distinction which is still preserved in the laws of many States between purely local and amateur games of baseball, golf, &c., and games of a public or professional nature. The influence of the Puritans of Cromwell's Commonwealth is, however, the dominant one in the Sunday laws, not only in the older States, but in those of the newer

States, whose populations originally came from the Atlantic seaboard.

It is still illegal to fish on Sunday in about half the States; in still more it is illegal to hunt or shoot or to carry firearms on Sunday. Virginia forbids carrying a gun, bowie-knife or pistol to church. In nearly all of these States, however, prosecution for such offenses depends upon information laid by a witness to the offense within a few days.

Connecticut has so far departed from the Blue Laws commemorated by the Rev. Mr. Peters as to permit, by specific statute, amateur baseball and other amateur sports, including fishing, after 2 o'clock on Sunday afternoon. California prohibits on Sunday only boxing exhibitions. Indiana permits Sunday baseball, by statute, after 1 o'clock and not within 1,000 feet of any place of worship. Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota and Montana have similar statutory provisions, while in Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New York and Rhode Island local authorities, either of their own initiative or upon the result of a local referendum, are authorized to license Sunday baseball and other sports; Massachusetts, however, has a proviso that only games to which no admission fee is charged may be so licensed.

As to amateur sports generally, in nearly all the States that have not made specific statutory exemptions of particular games, the phraseology of the laws permits of judicial interpretation of them to mean that Sunday sports must be so conducted as not to disturb the peace and quiet of persons desiring to devote the day to religious worship and meditation. Such interpretations have been made in numerous States. One finds no license, however, in the statutes of Alabama, for example, for any sports or games of any kind on Sunday; golf, tennis and dominoes are among those specifically prohibited. Pennsylvania forbids "all sport or diversion" on Sunday. But offsetting the comparatively few States in which the laws leave no loophole for Sunday sports, there are a larger number that prohibit only "public" sports, as opposed to friendly and amateur games of all kinds. And it is worthy of note, as concerns professional "sports" on Sunday, that none of the States in which Sunday "league baseball" has been permitted in the past has enacted

prohibitory statutes, while in New York within the last two years the Legislature has granted authority to city governments to license professional baseball for an admission fee on Sundays.

#### MOTION PICTURES

The "movie" has introduced a new element into the question of Sunday observance. The Sunday theatre has long been an institution in Louisiana, in the States lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and in the Far West and Southwest; the Sunday "concert" is an institution almost everywhere. But the theatre's appeal was to the classes, the "movie's" is to the masses. The effort required to travel on the workingman's one day of rest from an outlying residence district to the heart of a city to see a theatrical performance has probably been as strong a deterrent of Sunday theatregoing as any special respect for sanctity of the day itself. The little neighborhood "movie" house, however, bringing the best the films have to offer to every one's door, almost makes Sunday theatregoing merely a pleasant break in the day's repose. It followed as a perfectly natural sequence of the spread of the motion picture that the appeal to Legislatures to permit its exhibition on Sunday should have strong popular backing and be widely granted.

In substantially every instance where such permissive legislation has been enacted, the State has left the final decision as to the opening of motion picture theatres on Sunday to localities, properly holding that

each community has its own public sentiment, which must not be outraged nor yet denied expression. Idaho, Michigan, Nebraska, New York and Rhode Island have such provisions in their Sunday theatre laws. In Oregon the matter was submitted in 1917 to a State-wide referendum, which resulted in the repeal of the entire Sunday observance law, except the prohibition against barber shops on Sunday. The Maryland Legislature of 1920 enacted a statute permitting picture theatres to open on Sunday, provided the law were endorsed by a majority of the voters of the City of Baltimore at the general election on Nov. 6, 1920. This provision was attacked in the courts by Josiah Levering, representing the Lord's Day Alliance, and the Court of Appeals held that the Legislature had no power to enact the statute in such form and with such a provision.

This is the only successful effort thus far, so far as available records show, on the part of the Sabbatarians to check the tendency toward more liberal Sunday laws. The vigor of their attack, however, now focused upon nearly twenty States legislative bodies, and their announced purpose to ban all public sports and amusements and to curtail all other non-religious activities on Sunday have put the advocates of a liberal Sunday on their mettle. Both sides are bringing all possible pressure to bear upon the hapless legislators upon whom the decision will finally rest. The outcome will be told in the statute books when the Legislatures now in session shall have adjourned.

#### THE NATION'S LOSSES BY FIRE

THE first statistical record of fires issued in a number of years was recently published by the National Board of Fire Underwriters. It shows that from 1915 to 1919 the property loss by fire in this country amounted to \$1,416,375,845, or four times the amount spent in building the Panama Canal. The report adds that most of this

loss was preventable. Electricity was given as the chief cause of fire, more than \$80,000,000 of loss being attributed to this source. Matches, smoking materials and defective chimneys came next in the enumeration of causes of fires. The fire losses of New York were greater than those of any other State.

# AMERICAN AND BRITISH NAVAL PREPARATIONS

By Admiral Sir CYPRIAN BRIDGE, G. C. B.

*Sir Cyprian A. G. Bridge, now almost 82 years old, had served fifty years in the British Navy when he retired in 1904 with the rank of Admiral. In that period he held some of the most responsible naval commands in the British Empire. He is the author of two important books on sea power. The following article is in substance a plea against a policy of naval rivalry between the two great English-speaking nations*

THE editor of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has courteously invited me to contribute an article on the naval preparations of "Great Britain" and the United States. That invitation I have gratefully accepted, and I will reply to the implication conveyed in it to the best of my ability.

Attention may be requested to the fact that I have ventured to put the name "Great Britain," between inverted commas. This has been done because it is not the name that I should have chosen myself. In my view, there is now, and for several years past there has been, no such thing as a navy of Great Britain. There is, however, a navy of the British Empire, which includes a great deal more than the navy of Great Britain or even than the navy of the British Isles. In every comparison of naval force or of naval preparations this should be taken note of and should be given the fullest consideration. To continue to regard the British Navy as though it belonged exclusively to the British Isles is, it is respectfully submitted, to linger in the mental atmosphere of the middle of the nineteenth century, and to ignore the immense transformation of the map of the world due to the rise and development of over-seas dominions. Whether this transformation has been—and I make bold to think it is—for the good of mankind or not, it is a fact that cannot be wisely left out of sight.

If any reader is pleased to assume that this reply to the editor's invitation begins on a note of apology, the assumption will not be repudiated. The reader, nevertheless, is asked to believe that sincere expla-

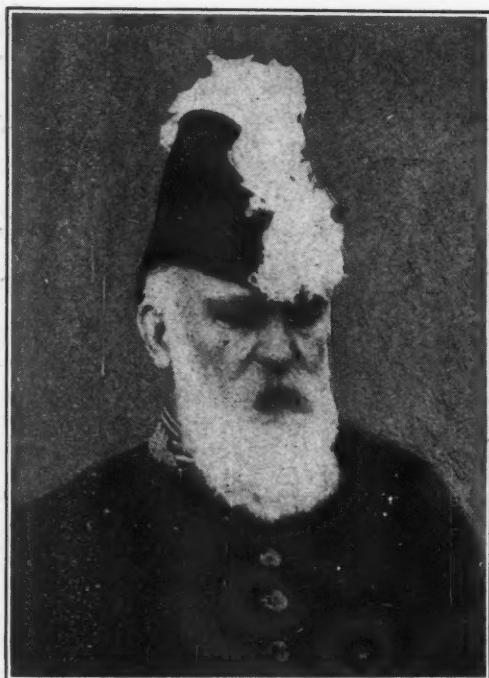
nation must sometimes be given an apologetic outward aspect. He who would explain is often obliged to adduce facts with the sole aim of being clear, and not in the least because he feels called upon to refer to what unfriendliness or want of knowledge might stigmatize as "extenuating circumstances." There is no need to refer to any such things here.

## BRITAIN'S PECULIAR POSITION

Naval competition between nations is not a thing of today, or even of yesterday. It has already had a respectably long life. It was rather keen sixty years ago. It died down when it was recognized that the growth of the British Navy conveyed no menace to the interests of any country. There was, indeed, general recognition of the peculiar structure of the British Empire: that it was essentially maritime; that the sea was to that empire what both land and sea were to other countries of corresponding rank. As it was, so it has continued to be. Maritime commerce was, as it still is, its life-blood. Its great communications are oceanic. In the over-sea portions of that empire there is now a population of European stock equal to the total population of the United States at the date of promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. That celebrated instrument announced to the world, in formal terms, that the United States must be regarded as an equal by the greatest European countries.

The portions of the British Empire just referred to are fully as dependent on the security of maritime commerce and oceanic

communications as the mother country itself. Their people understand this and they have formed navies of their own—small, indeed, but integral parts of the navy of the British Empire. There are other portions of that empire with enormous populations, to be counted in the aggregate by hundreds of millions. They



**ADMIRAL SIR CYPRIAN BRIDGE**  
*Famous British naval veteran and author of books on sea power*

also have maritime interests of immense value. One need only glance at trade statistics to see that. These interests look, and can look only, to the navy of the empire for the defense which, little more than six years ago, was found to be indispensable. In providing that defense not a single interest of any foreign country was impeded or threatened in the least.

The growth of the navy of the British Empire was a perfectly natural growth. It proceeded—not, indeed, always on a level with, for it sometimes lagged behind, but—in general accordance with the growth of the interests which it existed to defend. It was this, and not any desire of seizing undue advantages over others, that gave the

empire a prominent position on the sea. It was—as compared with other great European States which had great armies as well as navies—almost without an army. The Duke of Wellington in his many campaigns never had as many as 50,000 British troops under his command. This was usually taken into account by foreign Governments, which accepted, practically without objection, British naval strength as we accepted the strength of foreign land forces. The militarist oligarchy of Germany upset this balance of opinion. As Captain Thomas G. Frothingham tells us in his instructive article in the September, 1920, number of *CURRENT HISTORY*:

In the period of dawning suspicion and hostility which preceded the World War there was a sudden keen competition for naval superiority between Great Britain and Germany. This began in 1906, and each nation entered upon an enlarged program of building battleships. This naval activity was stimulated by the unusual condition that the capital unit of battle fleets had changed in that year to a new type, following the British design of the dreadnaught, &c.

#### COSTLY NAVAL RIVALRY

The competition had been foreshadowed as far back as the year 1898, when the determination of Germany to challenge the naval superiority of the British Empire was made clear. As has long been known to all the world, the British Government made earnest efforts to come to some arrangement with the German Government that might preclude the necessity of engaging in a most costly game of rival shipbuilding. Every one being well aware of the immense strength of Germany as a military power, it was expected—as the sequel showed, quite erroneously—that the Germans would candidly take note of the conditions on which the British Empire existed and would be ready to come to an arrangement of the kind sought for. By 1906, as Captain Frothingham has indicated, the German challenge became so unmistakable that the British Government, greatly against its will, was compelled to take it up.

Perusal of "My Memoirs," by Grand Admiral von Tirpitz—which work is often referred to by Captain Frothingham in his admirable "Guide to the Military History of the World War"—will convince every

reader that the deliberate intention of the ruling class in Germany was not merely to challenge but also to terminate the British naval superiority. Thereupon ensued that "enlarged program of building battleships," alluded to by Captain Frothingham. It was not only the program that was enlarged; each successive ship turned out was made larger and, of course, more costly than the last. Each competitor strove to outdo the other in dimensions of ship, in calibre of gun, and, inevitably, in expenditure of money. It was—and it is astonishing that this was not foreseen from the first—impossible to obtain any but a quite temporary and short-lived pre-eminence. The other side at once "went one better." Strategic and tactical considerations were all but left out of sight, and the race resolved itself into a mere struggle for huger material and greater costliness.

#### HENRY GEORGE'S DUEL STORY

It is, perhaps, not surprising that at this moment it is being warmly debated whether the principal battleships employed in the late war, that is to say, the battleships constructed during the competition just mentioned, are worth continuing as a class. They certainly caused deep disappointment and no one now has a good word to say for them. In "Progress and Poverty," a book that created a stir in the last generation, and that is worth reading today, the author, Henry George, related how a wealthy man, who had been accused of meanness, challenged his accuser to a duel to be conducted in accordance with remarkable conditions. The "combatants" were to proceed to the beach and there throw money, coin by coin, into the sea; the side which stopped first was to be regarded as having admitted defeat. This anticipated the contest that went on in British and German shipbuilding establishments. Millions of money were, almost literally, thrown into the sea. Is the world to be treated to another spectacle of the same kind?

Competition in warship building between the United States and the British Empire would, of course, differ greatly from the competition between the latter and Germany. The United States is not "run" by a militarist oligarchy; it never has main-

tained a great standing army; its navy has behind it a long and brilliant history; more than a hundred and forty years ago the Stars and Stripes were carried by a warship on the ocean. The general growth of the United States Navy has, like that of the British Empire's navy, been gradual and in accord with national development.

It is quite understood by the British people that the interests of the American Republic are not now bounded by the Atlantic side of the North American continent. The centre of population and the centre of gravity of American commercial development have been steadily shifting toward the West. I ventured to call attention to this, in more than one American newspaper, as far back as April, 1920. It is only natural that the citizens of the Republic should turn their eyes more and more to the immense possibilities of commercial intercourse with countries, as yet imperfectly developed, the shores of which are washed by the waters of the vast Pacific Ocean.

My belief is that the increase of the naval power of the United States is not viewed with resentment by the British people in general. They make full allowance for the realities of the situation; and they ask, in turn, that allowance should be made for that mighty factor in international affairs, viz., sentiment. This sometimes rests on, or springs from, a basis of reason; and this may be truly said of it in the present connection.

#### SENTIMENT FOR SEA PRIMACY

Throughout a long period the British Empire—as it had gradually grown to be—though almost absurdly weak as a military State, enjoyed the primacy on the seas. This was not seriously challenged until the possessors of the most powerful army in the world—in pursuit of their schemes of unbounded ambition—laid their plans to destroy it. The long acquiescence of other countries in the primacy mentioned and their own conviction that it was due to natural causes, and in no way to ambitious aims, led the British people to believe that they would, with universal assent, retain their old position as a naval State. Any sign that this belief may have to be abandoned naturally stirs in them sentiments of surprise, if not of apprehension. They and

the world in general may be confronted by conditions altogether new, by conditions for which no precedent can be found even if you go back many generations. Surely, no one will be hardy enough to assert that there is anything ignoble in such sentiments.

#### A DISQUIETING TABLE

We have to take facts as they are. The following summary may be quoted from a review of "Brassey's Naval and Shipping Annual" published in The Times (London, Jan. 5, 1921):

#### EFFECTIVE FIGHTING SHIPS BUILT AND BUILDING FOR THE UNDER-MENTIONED POWERS.

	British. Build-	United States. Build-	Built.	ing.	Total.	Built.	ing.	Total.
Battleships; 14-in. ·guns, upward...	14	..	14	11	10	21		
Battle cruisers;; 14-in. guns and upward .....	4	..	4	..	6	6		
Battleships; smaller guns...	14	..	4	..	6	6		
Light cruisers....	62	7	69	3	10	13		
Destroyers .....	190	..	190	287	30	317		
Submarines .....	98	..	98	100	66	166		

The significant column is that headed "Building." The comment appended to the table just quoted is: "This table shows "that within the next few years the British "fleet will lose its supremacy unless either "foreign construction be delayed or a pro- "gram of new shipbuilding be undertaken "in this country." One may be permitted to add this comment of one's own: Looked at from the point of view of finance the prospect must be described as ghastly. Considering the unsettled condition of the material elements of naval force, the terms

proposed by Henry George's "duellist" seem only too likely to be repeated.

#### TWO PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

As one to whom the production of monster warships always appeared to be a costly mistake and, yet, who believes that capital ships—if of reasonable dimensions—are still necessary elements of a fleet, I ask permission to make a couple of suggestions. They are, I am aware, altogether opposed to the tenets of the "material school"; but—all the same—they are in full accord with the laws of strategy and the principles of tactics:

*Have the smallest fleet that can do the work which you want it to do; not the biggest that you can cajole or force the taxpayers into granting the money for.*

*Build the smallest and least costly ships that can play their part in war; not the biggest that naval architects and engineers are able to design and build.*

To these suggestions may be appended the statement that the proper way to meet the so-called "submarine menace," or the menace from the air, is not to tinker with the material of important surface ships, but to devise methods of attacking both submarines and aircraft. Throughout the history of warfare, by land or sea, every new form of attack has called forth suitable methods of meeting it. Hunt the hostile submarine and the hostile aircraft, and they will devote most of their attention to looking after themselves. Remember how effectively the Allies retorted on the Huns for introducing the use of poison gas into warfare. Remember also Admiral Sims's wise reference to the early torpedo scare; how it was going—like the submarine now—to drive the capital ship out of existence, AND DID NOT.

#### ESTIMATE OF DEATHS DUE TO THE WAR

THE cost of the war in human lives, according to a report issued by the Society for Research at Copenhagen, was 35,000,000, including, of course, all civilian deaths traceable to the conflict. The excess of women over men in European belligerent countries, according to the same authority, has increased from 5,200,000 to 15,000,000.

# SHALL WE SCRAP OUR GREAT BATTLESHIPS?

BY VICE ADMIRAL BRINE

THE world's greatest sea power—the British Empire—is having a tremendous debate over the question as to whether it is money thrown away to build capital ships. Everybody, from chimney sweep to Cabinet Minister, is airing his views in the newspapers and magazines. As usual, most of them have plans by which the empire can be saved.

The intense feeling stirred up in the island empire is perfectly natural, for to the interest her people have always taken in sea power, and to that alone, is due the fact that Britain has been mistress of the seas for the last three centuries. In England, when anything comes up to threaten her naval standing, all hands, including even naval officers, "take a fall" out of the Admiralty. In America, where less is known of naval matters, the situation is different. On this side of the Atlantic there are but few civilian critics who possess sufficient technical knowledge to offer intelligent criticism on naval subjects, and should a naval officer have the temerity to say anything derogatory of our naval administration he would be hanged, drawn and quartered with the utmost dispatch.

It is a very healthy sign, however, to see our British cousins so wrought up over their future building program. The interest shown by the whole population is certain to cause much talk—and some thinking—and a little right thinking will bring forth the correct solution to the problem confronting the Briton.

The bone of contention is the dreadnought, which has rapidly risen in cost of construction to a present figure of from eight to ten million pounds. The dreadnought's opponents—and there are many—assert that the battleship is doomed, that

it has no chance against torpedo attack by submarines and torpedo planes. The other camp, containing the friends of the big ship, holds that the dreadnought is still the backbone of the fleet.

While Britain's two most famous seamen of today, Beatty and Jellicoe, have not expressed emphatic opinions, the long list of the opponents of the battleship contains such names as Sir Percy Scott, the father of British gunnery, and Rear Admiral S. S. Hall, who had charge of the British Submarine Service from 1915 to 1918. With the possible exception of some of the Germans, Admiral Hall should know more about what the submarine can do than any one else. Among the friends of the big ship are Admiral Bacon, who commanded the Dover Patrol, and Admiral Sturdee, who commanded the battle cruisers at Falkland which sank von Spee's squadron; the success of both these officers in the task assigned them gives weight to their opinions.

## DREADNOUGHTS WON THE WAR

Judged by History, to whom some cynically refer as "that lying jade," there is not a doubt that the Grand Fleet of capital ships saved the British Empire in the war with Germany. Granting her High Seas Fleet to Germany, and supposing that Britain had had no dreadnoughts during the war, there is no question, even among the big ship's enemies, that the Germans could have controlled the sea lanes, prevented food from entering the British Isles and starved the inhabitants into submission. Nor is there any question that the heavy fighting craft of the Grand Fleet prevented German surface craft from stopping the traffic between England and the Continent.

It goes without saying that France, unaided by the British Empire, would have been crushed by Germany.

The decision to be made by the British Empire in regard to the capital ship is of far more importance than the same question to the United States; the latter nation, self-supporting as it is, could live in a state of war with almost any enemy practically indefinitely, provided it could beat off the invader. The British Empire must control the sea, for it lives on its commerce; when its ships cannot come and go, it must sue for peace and the empire will fall.

Assuming the truth of the premise that Britain must control the sea to insure the empire's existence, what will be the effect if she scraps her dreadnoughts? Locally, none, as long as her floating gun power is equal to or greater than that of her possible European enemies. If neighboring nations build these floating fortresses, however, and can keep them afloat in sea areas through which British commerce must pass, then England, lacking power to push her commerce through, must starve.

Up to the present the chief weapon in naval warfare has been the gun. It was this conception that led to the design of the dreadnought. Two other factors entered into the design—speed and armor—but the greatest weight was given the guns, and the nation superior at sea in heavy artillery has been considered the strongest sea power.

#### REPRIEVE OF THE BATTLESHIP

A few years ago the capital ship was in danger from one plane only—surface attack—and with the advent of the torpedo and the torpedoboat the death knell of the battleship was sounded. It took only a short while, however, to find an answer to the torpedoboat in the destroyer, which gave the big ship a new lease on life. In turn came the light cruiser to screen the battle fleet from the destroyer, followed later by the battle cruiser to guard the big-gun ships against the light cruiser. The prophets who sounded the death knell of the dreadnought proved false, and naval progress seemed to have succeeded in protecting the navy's power—the big-gun ship—against torpedo attacks made on the surface.

There are those who hold that the Battle

of Jutland shows the helplessness of the battle line even against torpedo attack from the surface; they hold that the German attack with torpedoes forced Admiral Jellicoe to turn away and lost him the High Seas Fleet. This claim is weak for two reasons: (1) Due to the deployment of the Grand Fleet, its destroyers, light cruisers, &c., had not arrived in proper position to screen the British battle line when the enemy attacked with torpedoes. Ordinarily the screening vessels will be in position to fend off an attack, and had they been in position in this case, the attack could not have been made. One duty of the screening ships is to beat off an attack by enemy torpedo craft. (2) It is generally conceded that the turn-away by the Grand Fleet was a tactical error. The torpedoes passed through the line anyway, and were avoided by all but the Marlborough. Now, had the ships been heading toward, instead of away from, the torpedoes, it would have been easier to avoid them. The width of the target would have been the beam of the battleship, and a slight touch of helm would have cleared the torpedo.

#### THE SUBMARINE MENACE

Now come the dreadnought's opponents with the prophecy that the big ship stands no chance against attack, *not* from the surface, but from the two other planes—under water by submarine torpedoes and from the air by airplane torpedoes.

When cruising in fleet with its screen of destroyers, light and battle cruisers, the danger to the battleships from submarine attack can be considered only from a theoretical viewpoint. With the exception of one isolated case, where Weddigen's U-boat was rammed and sunk by a British battleship, there are no known instances of attack by submarines on a cruising battle fleet properly screened by the auxiliary fighting craft that go with it.

One thing, not generally borne in mind by those who predict that the submarine will drive the dreadnought from the seas, is that the submarine, in making a successful attack on a battle fleet, must find itself in a position dead ahead of the fleet, where it can silently wait to press home an attack. The warmest adherent of the underwater craft will admit that the submarine cannot

attack on the surface. Submerged, the U-boat has very low speed compared to the battleship, so when a submarine finds itself off to one side of the track of the fleet, it cannot reach the attacking position at its low submerged speed. Now take a case where the submarine is only slightly off the fleet track and where a submerged run may bring it to attacking position: Here the submarine must run its engines, and the hydrophone, in the battleship screen, hears and sends out its warning, and the battle fleet needs only to change its course away from the danger.

Aircraft must also be considered; under average conditions a plane can see a submarine further than the latter can see a plane; the battle fleet's scouting planes therefore increase the chance that the fleet will have due warning of the submarine's location; such warning makes it certain that the fleet, with speed superiority over the submerged boat, can avoid it. The strength of the submarine lies in its invisibility; the use of air scouts makes additional eyes for the fleet and reduces the chance of the submarine to attack without warning.

#### SINKING OF THE JUSTICIA

Outside of Weddigen's attack on the Grand Fleet, which proved his undoing, the nearest approach to attack by U-boats on a screened battle fleet seems to be the case of the Justicia. On July 19, 1918, U-boat 64 found herself directly ahead of a zig-zagging convoy of twelve ships screened by destroyers. In the centre of the convoy was the huge Justicia, which the German commander thought to be the Vaterland—our Leviathan—then in use as a troop transport. Undoubtedly the idea that this ship was the Vaterland caused a much more determined attack than usual, for no German honor could have been too great to bestow on the skipper who succeeded in sinking this ship.

The submarine made a most spirited attack; she dived under the screen of destroyers; went right to the middle of the convoy and, from a distance of only 400 yards, put two torpedoes into the Justicia. Immediately after firing her torpedoes U-64 dived, and it was not long before she was jarred by the explosion of thirty-five well-placed depth bombs. After waiting until

things quieted down, the submarine came up to periscope depth, followed the stricken Justicia and, before dark, fired torpedoes into her twice more.

During the attacks, according to extracts from the log of the U-64, there were about 100 depth bombs dropped near the boat, and her oil tanks were so damaged they left an oil trail. She followed all night, however, and sent messages to the U-54 giving position, course and speed of the Justicia, which enabled U-54 to give the great ship the coup de grâce the next forenoon.

The most important point in the attack on the Justicia is that when U-54 fired the torpedoes that finally sank her the Justicia was protected by twelve destroyers, five trawlers and two armed sloops. It should be borne in mind, however, that when the attack was made the Justicia was in tow, making little headway, and that the submarine had no trouble in gaining the proper attacking position.

#### THE DETERMINING FACTORS

The important difference between the first attack on the Justicia and an attack by U-boats on a battle fleet is that the battle fleet would have more destroyers in its screen and in the future will have air scouts in addition.

In making the decision as to whether underwater craft have rendered the battleship helpless several things must be remembered:

1. The high speed of the battleship, which enables her to manoeuvre toward safety once the submarine is located.
2. That the submarine is a weapon of chance; if the boat is not ahead on the track of the fleet, it has not sufficient submerged speed to gain a good position for firing torpedoes.
3. The additional eyes of the fleet to be carried in aircraft.
4. The extra ears of the fleet—hydrophones capable of vast improvement.
5. The depth charges fired by Y-guns and dropped from anti-submarine craft.
6. The fact that the submarine is blind when deeply submerged.

Taking all this into account, we have grave doubt of the soundness of the theory held by one school in Great Britain that the submarine has driven the big fighting ship from the sea.

### THE AIRPLANE TORPEDO

The airplane torpedo is the other weapon by which the career of the battleship is to be ended. This is again a theoretical question, for the war gave us no example of an attack on a properly screened battle fleet by torpedo planes.

The attack from the air has two distinct advantages over underwater attack. The first of these is the speed by which the plane can reach the attacking position on the bows of the battle fleet formation; this advantage the submarine cannot have, as her submerged speed is too low. The submarine, too, must be right ahead of the fleet; otherwise she will probably lose her chance. The second advantage is that the plane can see and the underwater boat is blind, except when she shows her periscope. Where the officer in charge of an attack can see all the time, he can change his plan, if necessary, in order to adjust it to the movements of the enemy.

In the present stage of development of both torpedo planes and torpedo, the plane making an attack on the battle fleet must be at a very exact and a very short distance from the water when the torpedo is dropped; otherwise the delicate machinery of the torpedo will be jarred out of adjustment on impact and the torpedo will not run true. In addition, the plane must be headed in the right direction for the run of the torpedo when the latter is dropped. Furthermore, the plane must be inclined at an exact angle to the sea's surface; if the nose of the airplane is too much down, the torpedo will go to the bottom.

### LIMITATIONS OF AIRPLANES

These are exacting conditions. In time of peace, when nothing interferes, the torpedo plane pilots will no doubt become very skillful. In war the battle line will be surrounded by its screen of destroyers armed with machine and rapid-fire guns; the torpedo plane pilot must take their fire in gaining attacking position. He will also be met and attacked by fighting planes; even the water splash from a heavy shell will wreck the plane. The torpedo plane pilot will be in the presence of death every minute; he must be more than human if his aim is true.

It is admitted that numerous planes and

torpedoes can be built for the price of a battleship, and the skill in use of this weapon may so develop that a battle fleet will not dare to approach an enemy coast within the radius of the torpedo-carrying plane. How about control further at sea? Great Britain's problem is based on the necessity of giving protection to her lines of communication at sea. Until the plane has a steaming radius equal to that of the surface ship, it must be carried on a ship in order to exert pressure in the distant sea area. When, therefore, the British give up the battleship, go to war in the air, build huge, fast plane carriers and adopt torpedoplane warfare, their rivals will meet the move by designing a weapon to destroy the ship that carries the planes.

The British Government's naval policy was announced on Dec. 10, 1920, in the House of Commons: "To maintain a navy at a standard of strength which will adequately secure the safety of the empire and its communications." With the hearty support of the Admiralty, the Cabinet has referred to the Committee of Imperial Defense the "whole question of naval strength as affected by the latest developments of naval warfare." While the decision of this committee will be of great interest to America, it will affect us only in the light of the British Empire as a possible enemy at sea. Types of war craft have a habit of changing very rapidly, and, after all, the building program of one nation depends absolutely on what the possible enemy builds. It will not be forgotten that the torpedoboot forced the design of the destroyer, which in turn forced construction of the light and then the battle cruiser.

While the British are racking their brains over what type of ship to build to hold control of the sea, there is talk of a working agreement among the three great sea powers—England, Japan and America—to cut military expenses. The wisest statesmen are beginning to whisper of a safer scheme to relieve the world of the enormous burden of armament, i. e., an out-and-out Anglo-Saxon alliance.

Until we do one or the other in an honest, trustful manner, this, at least, is certain: As long as Japan builds the dreadnaught, the United States must build a bigger and better one; if Great Britain cuts loose from

the capital ship and plans to sweep the seas with a ship laden with torpedo planes, it will be the duty of the American naval constructor to design something to destroy the ship that carries these planes. His ability to do so is unquestionable. The same

is true of the naval constructors of other nations. The next step taken by any one of the great powers will have a powerful effect on naval<sup>10</sup> development, but events thus far have by no means demonstrated the doom of the big-gun battleship.

## PROGRAM OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY

*Senate Naval Committee reports against a naval holiday  
and for a continuation of the present battleship program*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE United States Senate on Jan. 25 unanimously adopted a resolution of Senator Borah of Idaho, which directed the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs to inform the Senate whether or not it was feasible to suspend the present American naval program for six months, so that an investigation might be had to determine what constitutes a "modern fighting navy."

An emphatic negative to this proposal was recommended in the report filed with the Senate Feb. 9 by the Committee on Naval Affairs. The report was practically an endorsement of the position taken by the Naval General Board. All the members of that board defended the capital ship and took issue with those naval experts, for the most part foreign, who contended that the modern battleship was nearly obsolete and that submarines and aircraft would be determining factors in sea battles of the future.

The substance of the Senate report was that the United States should maintain a navy equal at least to that of any other nation in the world; that the capital ship still maintains its primacy among naval vessels, and that since universal disarmament had not been established it would be a wrong to the American people and no service to the cause of peace for the United States to disarm. If the proposed six months' suspension of building were adopted, the actual loss that would result would be between \$15,000,000 and \$30,000,000. Large numbers of workmen would be thrown out of employment, rendering difficult or impossible the reassembling of these forces should work be resumed. Any such result would

give an immense advantage to such other powers as should continue uninterruptedly the construction of their fleets or those already supplied with superior naval power. The report read in part:

The value and importance of submarines, aircraft and high explosives are admitted and the committee recommends that the scientific study and development of all these means of naval warfare be actively continued. Depth bombs, mines, aerial torpedoes and high explosive shells fired from great guns, whether of the howitzer or other types, are all important agencies of attack and defense at sea, and intensive studies of their potential uses should be continued with a view of utilizing them to the greatest possible advantage.

If we assume, however, a naval power armed with all these devices and with destroyers and swift light cruisers, but with no battleships or battle cruisers—and an enemy power equipped with all these and with battleships and battle cruisers in addition—there can be no doubt that in any conflict the power equipped with capital ships would be victorious over its enemy not so equipped. The rival forces of light craft, whether on or below the surface or in the air, would neutralize each other, leaving the power which possessed the heavy ships armed with great guns in undisputed control of the sea.

The committee recommended that twelve destroyers and six submarines in the present program, for which contracts had not been let, be eliminated and at the same time, and as a substitute therefor, authority be given for the construction of two airplane carriers of the most modern type and equipment and most advantageous size.

Participation by the War Department in a series of experiments to determine the

value of aircraft against major naval vessels was invited by Secretary Daniels on Feb. 7 in a letter to Secretary Baker. The first of the tests would be made within the next ninety days, Mr. Daniels said, and conditions approximating as closely as possible those of battle would be simulated. The captured German battleship *Ostfriesland* of 26,500 tons would probably be used for the experiment. Prior to the making public of Secretary Daniels's letter Admiral R. E. Coontz, Chief of Naval Operations, had told the House Naval Committee that, within the next three months, the Navy Department would bomb a large warship from the air in the open sea in an effort to test the theory urged by Brig. Gen. Mitchell of the Army

Air Service that airplanes had made capital naval vessels useless.

The Atlantic and Pacific fleets united at Panama on Jan. 20. They remained together until Jan. 28, on which date the Atlantic fleet headed for Callao, Peru, while the Pacific fleet pursued its way to Valparaiso, Chile. In both ports the fleets received many courtesies. The program called for their reunion on Feb. 7, when they would engage in a sham battle. The engagement was expected to take place in the vicinity of the scene of the memorable battle between the fleets of Cradock and von Spee in 1914. The fleets would remain together until Feb. 23, when they would again separate.

## THE BILLIONS SPENT FOR ARMAMENTS

FIGURES compiled by The New York World from the Statesman's Year Book and other authoritative sources show that the appropriations of the five great powers for military and naval purposes in the year 1920 alone reached a total of \$16,442,251,101, a sum only about \$2,000,000,000 more than the total for the whole fourteen years before the war. This means that if the expense were evenly divided the people of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States (310,667,723 souls) would have to pay \$52 each for the military costs of a single post-war year. The burden, however, is not divided evenly; more than three-fourths of that stupendous total belongs to us! The appropriations of the United States for armaments in that year totaled \$13,187,368,442, or nearly four times as much in one year as the appropriations used to be in fourteen years!

The explanation, of course, is that a large proportion of these thirteen billions went for expenses connected with the demobilization of our army in Europe, as the statistics in many cases reach back into 1919. Nevertheless, our armament bill for 1920 was \$13,000,000,000, as against only about three billions for the other four powers. This means that the 105,683,108 inhabitants of the United States are paying or

will have to pay a sum which, if evenly distributed, would compel every man, woman and child to part with \$124. Directly or indirectly, by immediate taxation or by payment of increased prices to cover taxation of those who dispense commodities, this levy will, to some extent, reach even the most impecunious citizen. The total cost of the war has not yet been calculated accurately, but Secretary of the Treasury Houston is authority for the estimate that it cost us alone \$24,010,000,000, all of which will eventually have to be paid by the public.

A striking comparison was made on Jan. 9 by Dr. E. B. Rosa of the United States Bureau of Standards, in a statement setting forth results of his researches regarding the cost of various activities. The tax now levied on tobacco, cigars and cigarettes alone, he said, would pay all the running expenses of the United States Government, were it not for armaments, wars, and their aftermath. Of all the money spent by the Government, 67.81 per cent. goes to pay for recent and previous wars; 25.02 per cent. goes for the running expenses of the army and navy, while the remaining 7.17 per cent. pays for all other functions of the Government. To these and similar facts is due the growing momentum of the movement for the reduction of armaments in this and other countries.

# IN THE UNITED STATES

*Army Reduction—Battleships vs. Airplanes—Railroad Labor Problem—Regulation of Packing Industry—Prohibition Enforcement—Unemployment and Wage Decreases—Break-up of Building Rings—Typhus Peril from Immigrants—Work of Congress*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE HOUSE on Feb. 7 passed, by a vote of 229 to 0, a bill to expend \$12,500,000 to build five hospitals in which to care for wounded soldiers in different parts of the country, and another \$500,000 NEW WAR to convert into hospitals the HOSPITALS barracks at Forts Walla Walla, Wash., and McKenzie, Wyo.

Similar legislation was adopted by the Senate on the same date, though the appropriation was enlarged to \$18,600,000 by means of amendments tacked on the Sundry Civil bill. The bill did not designate the location of the hospitals, but provided that one should be built in the Central Atlantic Coast States, one in the Great Lakes region, one in the Central Southwest, one in the Rocky Mountain States and one in Southern California.



BY an overwhelming vote—271 to 16—the House, on Feb. 5, overrode the President's veto of the joint resolution instructing the Secretary of War to cease recruiting until the size of the

REDUCING army should be reduced to THE AMERICAN 175,000 men. In his veto ARMY message the President said that world conditions and the needs of the United States did not justify the restrictions upon the present enlisted strength of 280,000, and, further, that no provision had been made to preserve the proportionate strength in the combatant corps of the army. The Senate, on Feb. 7, also overrode the veto by a vote of 67 to 1. The only Senator who voted to sustain the President was Kirby of Arkansas.

On the following day the Army Appropriation bill, carrying approximately \$329,000,000 and providing for a force of 150,000 men in 1922, was passed by the House and sent to the Senate. The measure was

passed practically as it came from the Appropriations Committee. A last-minute move to cut the number of officers from 14,000 to 9,000 was blocked by a vote of 271 to 58. The House also refused by a vote of 219 to 110 to insert a specific provision that the army be reduced to 150,000 men during the year, but the funds appropriated for enlisted men's pay are sufficient only for a force of that size.



AFTER a stormy session and several hours of debate the House of Representatives, on Jan. 19, voted to retain its present membership of 435, instead of adding 48 new members, as was NO INCREASE provided in the Reapportionment bill reported by the IN HOUSE MEMBERSHIP Census Committee. The final vote on the amendment was 276 to 77. Arguments that the House was already unwieldy and the increased membership would mean \$1,000,000 added cost were the causes for the decision reached.

Retention of the present number of members necessitates a shifting of twelve memberships from eleven States to eight others, the new ratio of representation being 242,267 persons, instead of 218,979. Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Nebraska, Rhode Island and Vermont will lose one Representative each and Missouri will lose two. Connecticut, New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas and Washington will gain one Representative each, Michigan and Ohio two each and California three. While the Democratic South loses two Representatives in Louisiana and Mississippi, it gains two in North Carolina and Texas. Kentucky and Missouri, now classed as doubtful States, lose a total of three.

**O**RDERS of Secretary Baker for stringent economy in the army were made public Feb. 1. Every officer was instructed to exercise strict economy in the use of fuel.

**DRASTIC ARMY ECONOMY** Enlisted men were required to wear reclaimed uniforms and shoes, instead of receiving new equipment. Canned meats were

to be substituted for fresh beef in the rations wherever possible. Motor transportation of personnel and supplies was to be cut in half until the end of the fiscal year. The appropriation for vocational training was reduced to \$50,000. Civilian employes of the army were to be reduced from 40 to 60 per cent. before the middle of February. Only one-third of the number of automobile trucks were to be kept in service, and these were to be manned by soldiers instead of civilians.



**WARREN G. HARDING** and Calvin Coolidge were formally declared President-elect and Vice President-elect at a joint session of the Senate and the House, Feb. 9, sitting to canvass the votes of the forty-eight States. **ELECTORAL COLLEGE ACTS** The ceremony was without incident. When the count was completed, the tellers signed a certificate that they had counted. Vice President Marshall read the certificate, and then announced the election of Harding and Coolidge. The whole proceeding occupied about forty minutes.



**COMPLETION** of the first count since 1913 of cash and securities in the Treasury on Jan. 27 revealed that the vaults held a grand total of \$13,883,819,826.36 2-3, of which \$97,410,283.02 was in cash. More than thirteen billions in Treasury vaults consisted of evidences of indebtedness of allied nations. The presence of the two-thirds of a cent in the figures was explained by Treasury officials as due to a bond of the State of Tennessee for \$1,666.66 2-3, held by the Treasury for the Secretary of the In-

terior as part of a number of Indian trust bonds purchased for the benefit of Indians from the proceeds of the sale of Government lands. The count of the cash and securities, which was necessitated by the resignation of Treasurer John Burke, showed no shortage, and a formal receipt was sent to Mr. Burke.



**THE Senate** on Feb. 11 voted unanimously to increase the salary of the Vice President from \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year, the increase to become effective, provided it is concurred in by the

**VICE PRESIDENT'S AND SPEAKER'S SALARIES INCREASED** House and is approved by President Wilson, when Vice President Coolidge assumes office

March 4. On the following day a similar increase was voted in the salary of the Speaker of the House.



**THE Appropriation bill rider** authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase \$100,000,000 Federal Farm Loan bonds to provide credits for farmers pending decision by the Supreme Court in litigation

**SENATE BACKS FARM LOANS** of the farm loan law was adopted by the Senate on Feb. 11. A substitute by Chairman McLean of the Banking Committee, to limit purchase of Farm Loan securities to \$8,000,000 annually for ten years, was defeated.



**THE bill amending the Transportation act**, so that the railroads could secure partial payment under the guarantee clause, was passed by the House Feb. 8 by a viva voce vote. A motion to re-

**REIMBURSING THE RAILROADS** commit the bill was defeated by 189 to 74. Only one amendment was accepted. A provision offered by Representative Dewalt of Pennsylvania, designed to guard the Government against overpayment, was carried by a vote of 183 to 157. The law as amended allowed partial payments, and did not require the roads to wait until their accounts were fully audited.

It was stated that \$340,000,000 of the \$400,000,000 appropriated would be due the roads when the final settlement was made. Three hundred million was owed to the railroads up to the end of September, 1920, according to the certification of the Interstate Commerce Commission.



**A**CCEPTANCE by the United States Government of the former home of J. P. Morgan in London as a home for the United States Embassy was approved by the House on Jan. 29.

**MORGAN HOME IN LONDON FOR U. S. EMBASSY** For almost two years the proposal had been before Congress. The Morgan house in London is located at Prince's Gate, and has been associated with the family for three generations. President Wilson had urged the acceptance of the gift, which was proffered by J. P. Morgan. Representative Rogers of Massachusetts, in charge of the diplomatic bill, in explaining this section of the measure to the House, commended Mr. Morgan for making the offer, and emphasized the desirability of Congress purchasing permanent embassy buildings for American Ambassadors in other countries. In the same bill the House agreed to an appropriation of \$150,000 for the purchase of an American embassy at Paris.



**A**FTER developing some of the evidence in the case of Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, the Philadelphia draft evader, now a fugitive in Germany, and whose capture was recently attempted in that

**THE BERGDOLL CASE** country, the House Military Committee, on Feb. 10, decided to ask Congress for authority to find out how Bergdoll had escaped from a military guard and made his way to the country he had refused to fight. The committee voted to go to the bottom of the case after hearing District Attorney Charles D. McAvoy of Philadelphia, who declared there was no evidence to justify the charge that any one connected with the War Department had been corrupted with Bergdoll money. Chairman Kahn, who introduced a resolution last May providing

for the appointment of a special committee to conduct the Bergdoll investigation, announced that enough evidence had been developed to indicate the necessity of immediate action. The runaway himself had charged that he had obtained from the Treasury Department and concealed in the woods \$105,000 in gold, to be used in effecting his release through bribery of Government officials. The more important thread to be followed, it was stated, was the ability of the prisoner's lawyers to obtain his release under guard for the purpose of digging up the concealed gold. It was while he was out on that gold chase that Bergdoll, stopping over in Philadelphia to visit his mother, eluded his soldier guards and slipped away in the same automobile he had used many times for highway speeding. Curiosity was keen also to learn how he obtained so much gold from the Treasury at the very time that the gold resources were being religiously conserved. It was reported also that steps would be taken to ascertain whether Clarence Gibboney, one of Bergdoll's attorneys, had really perished, as reported, in a storm off the coast of Mexico.



**T**HE bill creating the Federal Live Stock Commission, popularly known as the bill to regulate the meat packers, was passed by the Senate Jan. 24 by a vote of BILL TO CHECK PACKERS 46 to 33. The floor leaders of the Senate, Lodge and Underwood, both opposed the bill, but it was passed in almost the form reported out by the Committee on Agriculture.

The bill as passed made it unlawful for any packer to engage in any unfair or unjustly discriminatory practice or device in commerce or in any deceptive practice or device to cheat or defraud in commerce. It also made it unlawful for any packer to sell or buy or otherwise receive from any other packer live stock or live stock products for the purpose of apportioning the supply among packers or "unreasonably affecting the price or creating a monopoly" in the buying, selling, or dealing in live stock or live stock products.

Furthermore, packers were forbidden to conspire, combine, agree or arrange for the apportioning of territory among persons in

the packing industry, the controlling of prices or to apportion purchases of any live stock or live stock products. It was also made unlawful for packers to engage in any course of business or to do any act the purpose of which was to prevent other persons from carrying on a competitive or similar business in commerce.

For violation of the provisions of the act, packers or their agents would be liable to a fine of from \$1,000 to \$10,000, or could be sent to prison for terms of from one year to five years, according to the nature of the violation.



**FIGURES** were laid before the House Immigration Committee, on Feb. 9, by the Public Health Service to show that out of 10,002 immigrants who arrived at Ellis Island in the last half of 1920

<b>INELIGIBLE</b>	and whom the Health Service certified as unable to earn a living because of disease or physical defects,
<b>IMMIGRANTS</b>	9,799 were admitted by immigration officials. The figures as presented also showed that out of 112 persons certified as having mental defects, fifty were admitted, and that out of 536 persons claimed as having loathsome or contagious diseases, 167 were allowed to land.
<b>ADMITTED</b>	

Surgeon General Cumming, who presented the figures, said that such admissions had had a bad effect on the morale of the Public Health Service. He said that he knew of no law which would permit the landing of persons afflicted with "dangerous or loathsome diseases," and that the Public Health Service was not authorized to follow up cases which it had certified as inadmissible but which had been admitted.

Reports from Rupert Blue, former Surgeon General, now in Europe, Dr. Cumming said, led him to believe that every precaution was necessary to prevent typhus from getting into the United States. There was every indication that typhus would spread in Europe.

Royal S. Copeland, Health Commissioner of New York City, telegraphed President Wilson on Feb. 10, asking him to declare an immediate ban on immigration from typhus-infected ports. He declared that such pro-

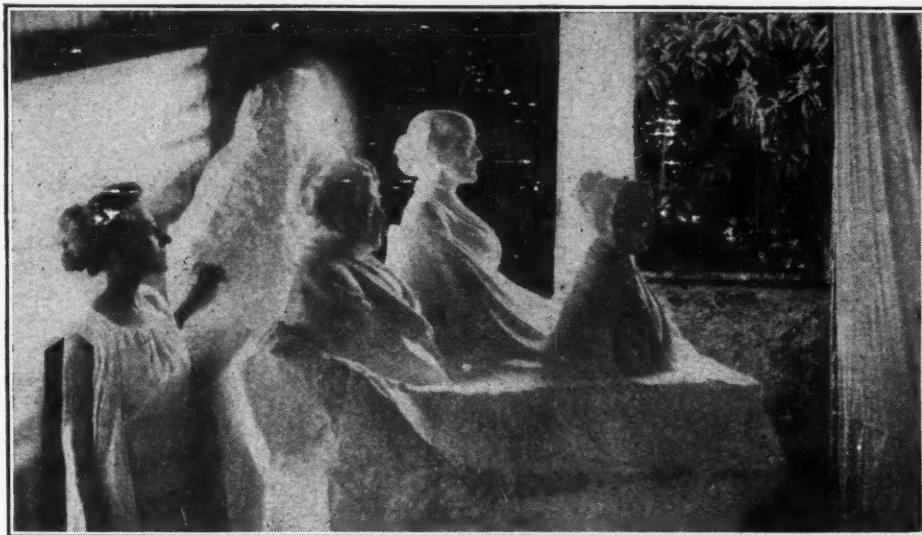
hibition was necessary in the interest of public health.

Dr. Copeland cited the fact that thirty-six typhus sufferers were in the hands of the quarantine physicians at Hoffman and Swinburne Islands, and that two cases were under treatment in Brooklyn and another in Harlem Hospital. He emphasized that, while there was no occasion for undue alarm at present, it was imperative that drastic measures be inaugurated at once to prevent the plague from getting a foothold in the crowded city. Mr. Tumulty, Secretary to the President, replied that the request would be taken up without delay. There were two deaths from typhus in New York on Feb. 15. The steamship companies of the port of New York announced the same day that they would provide at their own expense a floating hospital ship where all immigrants would be thoroughly cleansed and disinfected before being allowed to land. The health authorities announced that no one would be allowed to enter who had not been twelve days away from possible contagion; passenger ships that make the trip from Europe in less than twelve days will be required to wait in quarantine until the period elapses.



**J SAURO GABALDON** recently arrived in Washington as Philippine Resident Commissioner and as the representative of his people in Congress to advance the cause of Philipinne independence.

<b>PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE</b>	He was formerly Governor of the Province of Nueva Ecija. He declared that his people were practically unanimous in desiring a republic. "Not only do we feel entitled to independence by divine right, as the American Colonies felt themselves so entitled," Mr. Gabaldon said, "but the United States promised us independence upon the establishment in the Philippines of a stable Government. Such a Government exists. The fact has been officially reported to the President and to Congress by the American Governor General. He has had ample opportunity to note and to analyze our ability to govern ourselves, for he has been in the islands as Governor General for six years."
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(Photo by Edmonston, Washington)

*Memorial statue of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony, pioneers of the American woman suffrage movement. The group was carved from a single block of Carrara marble. It was presented to the nation on Feb. 15, 1921, the 101st anniversary of the birth of Miss Anthony, and will have a permanent place in the Capitol at Washington. The American sculptress, Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, is seen standing beside her completed work*

THE Department of Labor announced, Jan. 25, that 505 aliens classed as anarchists were deported from the United States from Feb. 1, 1919, to Jan. 1, 1921.

In the same period 1,119 ANARCHISTS alien anarchists were ordered DEPORTED to be deported, the difference between "orders" and "shipments" being represented by those who were permitted to remain temporarily because of lack of transportation, appeals and other reasons.



ON Feb. 15 the monument to Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, woman suffrage leaders, was presented to the National Capitol. The date of the presentation was the 101st anniversary of the birth of Miss Anthony. Although the presentation was supervised by the National MEMORIAL TO SUFFRAGE PIONEERS Woman's Party, known as the militant wing of the suffrage forces, representatives of every well-known woman's organization in America, together with women from many

foreign countries, took part in the exercises. Miss Jane Addams acted as Chairman, and the memorial was accepted on behalf of Congress by Speaker Gillett of the House of Representatives. The three busts were carved from a single block of marble by Miss Adelaide Johnson. It is planned to place the group permanently in the rotunda of the Capitol.



FIGURES made public Jan. 25 by the Employment Service of the Department of Labor showed that there had been a decrease of 3,473,466 in the number of persons employed in industry GOVERNMENT SURVEY OF UNEMPLOYMENT in the United States, as compared with the number employed one year ago. It was explained by John B. Densmore, director of the bureau that made the survey, that the estimated decrease must not necessarily be taken as meaning that that number of persons were actually out of work. It was, he said, quite possible that some of those on the labor rolls a year ago were now employed on

farms or in some other occupation not covered by the survey, which was confined to pursuits classed as "mechanical industry."



**A**CCORDING to a statement by the National Industrial Conference Board on Jan 22, the cost of living decreased 11.4 per cent. between July, 1920, when the peak of the rise since 1914 was reached, and January, 1921. The decrease between December, 1920, and January, 1921, was 4.6 per cent. Despite this reduction, the average prices on Jan. 1 were still 81.2 per cent. above the pre-war level.

The decrease between December and January was brought about largely by the decline in food prices, which averaged 8 per cent. during the month. The price of clothing dropped 8.7 per cent. within the month. There was no change in the average rents or in the average cost of fuel, light or sundries, although changes in individual localities were noted.



**B**ECAUSE Judge Kenesaw M. Landis did not retire from the case after Victor Berger, Socialist, had attacked him in an affidavit as prejudiced, the United States Supreme Court on Jan. 31 reversed the conviction of Berger.

**BERGER CONVICTION REVERSED** for violating the espionage law. Six Justices concurred in the opinion and three dissented. Berger was convicted Feb. 2, 1918, and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. The action of the Supreme Court meant that he would have a new trial.



**T**HE Senate Committee on Immigration, by a vote of 5 to 4 on Feb. 9, rejected the Immigration bill passed by the House that prohibited immigration for fourteen months.

**SENATORS PLAN NEW IMMIGRATION BILL** In its stead, the committee was planning a tentative draft of a bill which was expected to limit the influx by permitting the immigration of persons of

various nationalities up to 5 per cent. of the number of persons of such nationality resident in the United States, the percentage to be based upon the census of 1910. This would make possible a maximum immigration in any one year of 592,436 persons.

The following table prepared for the committee shows the number of aliens admissible from the various countries in any fiscal year under the provisions of the proposed law:

Countries.	Popula'n in U. S., 1910.	in migration, 1910-1914.	Aver. An. Im- Cent.
Belgium .....	49,400	5,690	2,470
Denmark .....	181,649	6,694	9,082
France .....	117,418	8,601	5,871
Germany .....	2,501,333	32,239	125,066
Netherlands .....	123,134	7,147	6,157
Norway .....	403,877	11,416	20,194
Sweden .....	665,207	17,843	33,260
Switzerland .....	124,848	3,762	6,232
United Kingdom .....	2,573,534	89,188	128,677
Total, Northwest- ern Europe.....	6,740,400	182,850	337,020
Austria-Hungary.....	1,670,582	225,931	83,529
Bulgaria .....	11,498	....	575
Serbia .....	4,639	4,964	232
Montenegro .....	5,374	....	269
Greece .....	101,282	26,442	5,064
Italy .....	1,343,125	220,967	67,156
Portugal .....	59,360	10,380	2,968
Rumania .....	65,923	2,570	3,296
Russia .....	1,732,462	210,922	86,623
Spain .....	22,108	5,722	1,105
Turkey, Europe...	32,230	13,930	1,612
Turkey, Asia.....	59,729	16,780	2,986
Total .....	5,108,322	738,612	255,416



**P**RESIDENT WILSON on Jan. 31 refused to commute the sentence of Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader and five times the candidate of that party for President, despite the fact that Attorney PARDON General Palmer had recommended that he be released on DEBS Feb. 12, Lincoln's Birthday. If efforts to obtain a commutation of sentence from the incoming Executive prove futile, Debs will have to remain in prison at least until Aug. 11, 1922. At that time he becomes eligible for parole, but this does not necessarily assure his release at that time. The term of ten years, with good conduct allowance deducted, would end on Dec. 28, 1925.

**A** DECISION by Attorney General Palmer, in which he held that the authority of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to issue permits for the sale in wholesale quantities of intoxicating liquors was limited PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT to manufacturers and wholesale druggists, was made public at Washington on Feb. 2. The decision was said to mean that wholesalers or brokers, other than wholesale druggists, would not be permitted in future to obtain the release of liquor from bond or dispose of it to customers. The Internal Revenue Bureau had 3,888 listed who would be affected by the order. The druggists themselves were limited still further, when orders were issued on Jan. 29 to the prohibition directors of the "wet belt," including Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, to withhold all permits for withdrawal of liquor from warehouses with the exception of users of industrial alcohol, users of sacramental wines and five cases of whisky on each permit for each druggist licensed to sell liquors for medicinal purposes.

**R**OBERT P. BRINDELL, former labor "czar" in the New York building trades by virtue of his position as Chairman of the Building Trades Council, controlling 115,000 working-BUILDING men, was sentenced on Feb. 8 to serve a term of not less RING than five and not more than PROSECUTIONS ten years at hard labor in Sing Sing Prison for the crime of extortion. Other trials are proceeding for analogous offenses.

In Chicago, on Jan. 21, forty-seven indictments were returned in the Federal court against labor union chiefs, mill owners and carpenter contractors, charging violation of the anti-trust section of the Sher-

man law. In a special report, the jury characterized building conditions in Chicago as deplorable. Government agents declared the alleged combination had driven \$50,000,-000 in outside work from Chicago in the last three years. This had caused increases of from \$2,000,000 to \$5,000,000 a year in rentals.



**T**HE Federal Labor Board on Feb. 10 denied the plea of General W. W. Atterbury for the railroad executives that the national working agreements should be abrogated at once and FEDERAL LABOR that basic wage rates for BOARD AND common labor should be RAILROAD WAGES set aside so that the roads might substitute the prevailing local rates of wages. The national agreements will continue in force until they are modified or a new code drafted by the board is substituted. The plea of the roads was that, if the agreements were thrown out and restrictive rules abolished, a saving of at least \$300,000,000 in operating expenses would result.



**R**EPORTS from industrial centres indicated a general lowering of wages. The Standard Oil Company announced on Feb. 2 a cut of 10 per cent. of the wages of all employees. It was said the reduction would be made effective by the withdrawal of the second of two 10 per cent. bonuses granted during the war. The Pennsylvania Railroad asked its men on Jan. 18 to accept a five-day week, the only alternative to this to be a 20 per cent. cut in force. The Erie road also adopted a five-day week. The Baltimore & Ohio road laid off 7,000 of its employees. Similar reductions, either in time or pay, were announced in various lines of industry.

# PLEBISCITES PAST AND FUTURE

*Official statement, issued by the League of Nations,  
covering all popular votes under the Versailles  
and St. Germain Treaties, and under the League*

A N official report was issued in January by the League of Nations covering all the plebiscites or referendum votes provided for by the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain, as well as certain votes that still remain to be taken under the auspices of the League. The plebiscites provided for under the Versailles Treaty were as follows: (1) in Slesvig, (2) in the Sarre Valley, (3) in East and West Prussia, (4) in Eupen and Malmedy, on the Belgian-German border; (5) in Teschen, the coal district between Poland and Czechoslovakia; (6) in Upper Silesia, on the border between Poland and Germany. The report of the League on these events was as follows:

## I. Plebiscites Held Under the Treaty of Versailles

1. SLESVIG—First zone voted on Feb. 10, 1920: Danish, 72,733; German, 24,793. Second zone voted on March 14, 1920: German, 48,148; Danish, 13,025. [The last two totals are not official, as the returns from four districts were lacking in the League's files.]

2. SARRE VALLEY—The plebiscite will not be taken until 1934. Meanwhile the area is administered by an Interallied Commission.

3. EAST AND WEST PRUSSIA—Both voted on July 11, 1920: West Prussia\*—German, 91,634 (92 per cent.); Polish, 7,682. East Prussia\*—German, 353,655 (98 per cent.); Polish, 7,408.

4. EUPEN AND MALMEDY†—According to the Treaty of Versailles, although no plebiscite was taken, the inhabitants were allowed to register their protests against the allocation of the districts to Belgium. The lists were closed on July 23, 1920, and the results communicated to the League as follows:

Eupen—Out of 13,975 possible signatures, 208 "protested" in favor of Germany.

Malmedy—Out of 19,751 possible signatures, 58 "protested" in favor of Germany.

On Sept. 20, 1920, the Council of the League at Paris recognized the transfer of these districts to Belgium, and at its meeting at Brussels, from Oct. 20 to 28, the Council rejected German charges of Belgian intimidation of would-be "protestors."

\*These figures omit twenty-nine small districts in West Prussia and sixty-three in East Prussia.

†Although not strictly speaking a plebiscite, the arrangements in Eupen and Malmedy are included in this list for the sake of convenience.

5. TESCHEN (including the detached districts of Spisz and Orava)—The plebiscite was abandoned in June, 1920, owing to the troubled state of the district. It was proposed to resort to arbitration, but the parties could not come to agreement on this point. Finally, at the Spa Conference in July, 1920, the representatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia signed a declaration requesting the Supreme Council to delimit the frontier between their two States. This was done by the Council of Ambassadors on July 27, 1920. The Karwin coalfield and the Kosice-Bohumín railway went to Czechoslovakia.

6. UPPER SILESIA—The date for this plebiscite has not yet been fixed [see next paragraph]. The area is being administered by an Interallied Commission. There has been much friction between the Germans and the Poles, and there have been many complaints in the German press of pro-Polish partiality on the part of the French, who form the majority of the troops and officials of the Interallied Commission. We have no trustworthy information on this point.

According to the latest official advices, the Upper Silesia plebiscite has been fixed "in principle" for March 13, 1921. Both the Poles and the Germans are clamoring for the holding of the referendum at the earliest possible time. The two elements were reported in February to be armed to the teeth; the whole district was infested with bandits, who were robbing and looting, and virtual anarchy prevailed.

Other features of the League report may be summarized as follows:

## II. Plebiscites Held Under the Treaty of St. Germain

KLAGENFURT—Southern zone voted on Oct. 10, 1920: Austria, 22,025; Jugoslavia, 15,278. In conformity with the treaty, the Austrian victory in this zone rendered a plebiscite in the northern zone unnecessary, and the whole district therefore went to Austria.

## III. Plebiscites Under the League of Nations

VILNA—This referendum vote became necessary when the Lithuanian capital was seized by the irregular Polish forces of General Zeligowski. At the time when the League report was drawn up, neither the area nor the supervising authority had been agreed upon. For the latest information on the Vilna plebiscite, see the article on Poland.

# AMERICAN RULE IN SANTO DOMINGO

BY FRANCISCO HENRIQUEZ Y CARVAJAL

Former President of Santo Domingo

*Dr. Henriquez was the duly constituted President of the Republic of Santo Domingo in 1916. He refused to accede to the terms of occupation laid down by the American naval authorities and was deposed. When he recently read an article in Current History entitled "Our Rule in Santo Domingo," by Alvin M. Gottschall, he penned the detailed answer to it given below. The ex-President's article, which was written in Spanish, is here translated without change or comment.*

THE article by Mr. Gottschall, which appeared in the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY, contains a number of exaggerations and inaccuracies. Some of these are listed and commented on below:

1. It was not on May 5, but on Nov. 29, 1916, that the military occupation and the establishment of an American Military Government were proclaimed in Santo Domingo. From May 5 to Nov. 29 the American troops were on Dominican soil, but the Dominican Government still existed, and the American naval forces had not as yet assumed any official and definite attitude.

2. Mr. Gottschall asserts that the Dominican debt totals barely \$3,000,000. The foreign debt of the republic guaranteed by the Convention of 1907 amounted to \$20,000,000. Reduced by the payments made on it, it is now only a little over \$9,000,000, and will probably be completely canceled in 1925. The internal floating debt, now liquidated, totaled \$4,292,343.52.

3. Mr. Gottschall declares that "moral and physical traces of a great race, which existed 500 years ago, have been obliterated by the vandalism and savagery of its successive descendants." Observation: The island was discovered by Columbus only 428 years ago, and only the Yucaya native race existed at that time in the country in a rudimentary state of civilization.

4. Mr. Gottschall states that though a school of graphic arts exists in Santo Domingo, not one painter in oils can be found. It is true that the country possesses no great painters, but there are a considerable number of Dominicans who paint. I may cite Arturo Grullón, whose pictures were

accepted by the Paris Salon in 1890; Luis Desangles, whose pictures figured in two exhibitions in Madrid and in St. Louis, U. S. A., and received prizes; Abelardo Rodríguez Urdaneta, Carlos Ramírez Guerra, Arturo Báez, Bautista Gómez, Miss Celeste Wos y Gil, Polanco, Castro and many others. Musicians are few, yet there have always been some; I may cite the violinist Gabriel del Orbe, who won a prize at the Leipsic Conservatory. Many others have composed beautiful pieces, notably Professor Reyes, the author of the national hymn.

## OTHER MARKS OF CULTURE

5. There exists a large medical body, trained for the most part in the European and North American medical schools. Professional midwives are very numerous. Training has also been given to nurses, who attend the clinics at the hospitals.

6. Mr. Gottschall affirms that African rites are secretly practiced. This is absolutely false. The author confuses with Santo Domingo information which he probably received from Haiti.

7. Mr. Gottschall implies that only in the neighborhood of the American sugar plantations may there be found civilized Dominicans, and that in the interior there exist a million negroes and mulattoes who constitute another world. The republic does not possess a million inhabitants; it has 700,000 at most. There exist, in the interior, cities and villages inhabited by people as white as those on the coast, or whiter, and their mode of life is as civilized as that of the coast.

8. The Dominican people possess a gen-

eral and widely spread culture. Their devotion to the education of their children is so great that the country may be cited as a rare example. There have always been farmers who paid out of their own small capital the costs of a rural school for their own children and those of the vicinity, who received instruction free. Within a few years, owing to the Dominicans' great desire that their children should be educated, illiteracy will have disappeared in Santo Domingo.

**Mr. Gottschall says:**

The natives revolted against Spain in 1821. Unable to govern themselves, they called on Simon Bolivar, the South American liberator, to occupy the country, but he was too busy in Central America to respond. Spain was invited to take the reins again, but had to leave a little later.

This passage contains several errors. The revolution of 1821 was previously planned with Bolivar, and it took place in Santo Domingo as a part of the project to annex the Antilles to Greater Colombia. The failure of the plan was due to Bolivar. The army which he had placed at the disposal of General Páez to carry out the project was taken back by Bolivar after the Dominicans had begun to use it, in order to retrieve his recent losses. Bolivar was not in Central America, and had never been there; he was in Colombia. Spain was not called in, and did not come to take possession again of the colony. President Boyer of Haiti occupied Santo Domingo with his armies. One result of this was that Nuñez de Cáceres, who had proclaimed the annexation of Santo Domingo to Greater Colombia, protested and left the country forever.

10. Mr. Gottschall says: "The negroes asked the Spaniards to return and pacify the country in 1861." Nothing of the kind occurred. From 1821 to 1844 the Dominicans were subject to the negroes of Haiti. In 1844 the Dominicans, despite the fact that they were in the proportion of one Dominican for five Haitians, decided to drive the Haitians out. They gained their independence after a war against the negroes of Haiti, which lasted from 1844 to 1859, in which England, France and Spain at last intervened, and an armistice was signed. In 1861 an annexation treaty was signed with Spain, in which the people were not consulted. This gave rise to war against

Spain, which began in 1863 and ended in 1865, with the abandonment of the island by Spain.

**SANTO DOMINGO'S DEBTS**

11. The conditions which prevailed in the country following fifteen years of war with Haiti and two years of war with Spain (this last war, though short, was much more severe than the first and extended to all parts of the republic), were ruinous, and no Government could find sufficient support to exist for a long time. A series of revolutions took place, despite which the country laboriously developed its strength. The longest administration was that of President Heureaux, explained by the fact that he was able to negotiate foreign loans, which were easy to get but hard to pay back. Thus the foreign debt originated. In 1901 Dr. Henriquez made a contract with the European creditors which reduced the debt to \$8,500,000. In 1907 all debts were lumped at \$20,000,000, and by the agreement signed with the American Government the payments on interest and principal were assured by authorizing the Government of the United States to control the Dominican customs and to subtract from them each month the sum of \$100,000 and apply it to this purpose. This procedure has never been interrupted. On the contrary, by an automatic arrangement provided for in the convention with the object of shortening the period of payment and to relieve the American Government of the guarantee it had given, the payments on principal have increased from year to year so greatly that Admiral Snowden, the American Military Governor of Santo Domingo, in his annual report to the Navy Department has recently announced that the Dominican debt would be canceled in 1925, that is, thirty-three years before the period set for its complete repayment.

As for the \$14,000,000 of domestic debt referred to by the writer of the article in question, it does not exist. The method followed by the military Government in liquidating the internal floating debt, gave rise to the presentation of many fantastic claims. In reality, even admitting many compensation payments which did not figure on the debt capitulary, it totaled only a trifle over \$4,000,000, not more than \$2,000,-

000 of which represented back salaries and sub-Ministry vouchers. This debt could be wiped out, as in the case of the debt for the payment of which the American Government granted President Nouel a loan of \$1,800,000, by appropriations of the estimated average of expense, without encroaching on the sacred pact covering the foreign debt guaranteed by the convention.

12. The author of the article in question expresses certain judgments concerning the Dominican race, in order to deduce arbitrary psychological and historical characteristics. In this he but adopts an opinion of Antenor Firmin, a well-known Haitian negro writer, who, in his book, "On the Equality of Races," asserts that the mulatto is the degenerate product of two races, the white and the black. Paresis, loss of memory, vagueness of mentality, which the author declares exists in the character of the Dominicans, are allegations which have never been confirmed or tested, and which cannot be considered as universal among the Dominicans. Even if they existed, which we may assume as possible, they must be attributed not only to racial influences—an accidental factor—but to various peculiar conditions of race, environment, education, hereditary or individual illness, the exhaustion of nervous strength by the climate and the conflict of human passions. Under conditions of apparent race equality, in cities inhabited by civilized white people, hyperesthesia, loss of memory, neurasthenia and other signs of nervous exhaustion are much more frequent than the symptoms alleged to exist among the Dominicans, and nevertheless we cannot on such a basis call such conditions distinctive.

The Dominican, though of mixed race, is more active, more industrious than the Haitian of pure black blood, and his mental and temperamental superiority is beyond question.

#### FAITH IN SANTO DOMINGO'S DESTINY

13. No one can deny, because it has been a continuous historical fact, the stormy existence which the Dominican people have had. Their period of development offers the same painful vicissitudes as those observed in the case of other peoples of Latin America, before reaching a state of political

stability. In these hours of anguish, many Dominican writers have written sad pages, in which pessimism regarding the fate of the republic abounds; but these sorrowful cries do not sum up the true spirit of the people, who, at heart, have always maintained an unshakable faith of better days to come, when Santo Domingo's position among civilized nations shall be one of honor and distinction. No Dominican writer of the first rank has ever been false to this belief.

The Dominican politicians have been and are on a level with those of other countries, but they all seek, even amidst their conflicts, to improve the condition of their country, and to endow it with better institutions. Their frequent errors and failures show only that the political education of the people is a very complex work, which requires much time. But it can be said that at the time of the American intervention the Dominican people were reaching the end of their political crisis, and were preparing for a radical transformation in their history. They are still progressing toward this transformation, despite the American military occupation, or rather aided by that occupation, following the example, well worthy of imitation, of Uruguay.

It is not true that a pseudo-feudalism has ever existed in Santo Domingo. No leader or General or influential politician has ever abused his position to force from any peon or partisan the product of his toil. I admit that abuses of another kind, committed by military authorities, have occurred, but never in the systematic form of pseudo-feudalism which the writer alleges.

#### REPUBLIC FREE OF BANDITS

14. "The Dominican respects the person, and personal property. One may live in a house without doors, and travel every trail on the island without harm." The author says this, and afterward contradicts himself with the assertion that bandits existed a long time ago by the side of the revolutionary leaders, and that the presence of these bandits in the eastern part of the island was only the continuation of an old and accepted system of spoliation.

There were never any bandits or robbers in the Dominican Republic. In the last revolts, before any definite political ascen-

dency could be established, a certain number of revolutionists remained unpacified and wandered about the eastern coast, near the sugar plantations. Far from attacking these plantations, they preferred to protect them from all danger, in return for which they asked the planters for aid. This eventually brought about a peculiar relation between the so-called bandits and the sugar planters, who came to believe that they could expect greater security from the good-will of these unpacified soldiers than from the inadequate power of the public authorities. But there were never any attacks either on the persons of the planters or on their property, and travelers continued to use the highways without being molested.

#### AMERICAN CRUELTY ALLEGED

The persecution undertaken by the American troops against these factions, the many stupid actions, outrages and cruelties committed against the inhabitants of all the small villages of these districts, brought from the neighboring peoples a general protest, and many preferred to join the bandits and to share their fate rather than to be ruined, seized, outraged and killed by the American forces. Many innocent people have been outraged or killed by the persecutors, while those pursued remained free and masters of the field, rarely allowing themselves to be seen by the pursuers. The reconcentration order given by Colonel Thorpe produced the most disastrous results. Many of the inhabitants removed from Seybo died of illness and suffering, while a large number of men preferred to flee to the mountains, leaving behind their cultivated fields and property.

Still worse was the result of the persecutions of the criminals who escaped from the State prisons at the time of the disembarkment of the American forces, and part of whom took refuge in the fields of Salcedo and Sacoris in the north. The pursuit of those escaped convicts caused the death and martyrdom of many innocent people and spread terror in these regions. Banditry, if it has existed, was encouraged by this unfortunate custom of pursuing a small number of convicted criminals or delinquents who escaped from prison. It has ceased automatically, not because the fugitives were annihilated, but because the per-

secution was abated, and there is no doubt that it will disappear completely in this way, rather than as a result of the persecution, which has had so many victims among the innocent population.

"For the first time in a century the Dominicans have enjoyed real peace." This Mr. Gottschall asserts without recalling those peaceful periods when the country was governed by the Dominicans. Heureaux governed for more than twelve years without having any revolution to repress; Cáceres for six years. There have now been four years of quiet, apart from the activities against the so-called bandits. But "moral peace" does not exist in a country when its inhabitants have to raise their voices in protest against a system of government which oppresses them. And this has been the case throughout the continuance of the whole military régime under which the Dominicans have lived, and which has taken from them all liberty. During the last year some small degree of liberty has been granted them, and they have shown how they love liberty and independence and how they aspire to a political life very different from their former existence of disorder and military despotisms.

#### WISH AMERICANS TO LEAVE

We agree that the Americans have done many good things, but we consider that they have also done bad things. Among the good things accomplished, many are not novelties, as the Dominicans had already either done them or begun to do them; the bad things, on the other hand, have aroused hostility toward the occupation, not only in Santo Domingo but also in America. As Mr. Gottschall says, the occupying powers did not realize that the occupation should never have lost a diplomatic character. It lost this at the beginning, and this brought it to disaster.

"The occupation wounds the pride of the natives," says Mr. Gottschall. This is true. The people admire the Americans and wish to learn from them; they are sending their children more and more to be educated in the United States; but 99 per cent., if not a full 100 per cent., wish the Americans to leave the country and to have a return of the national Government, modified by new

laws and by progressive ideas which will be given vitality in its reorganization.

Mr. Gottschall admits that the impenetrability of the military rule has continued to keep the people in the dark regarding the true intentions of the American Government. In the first place, the Dominican people have never admitted that the Government of the United States has the right to suspend the sovereign rights of the Dominican Republic, yet it is beyond question that if the military Government had observed another policy and taken account of the psychology of the people, the unrest and permanent discontent which now prevail would never have reached the proportions which they have reached and since maintained.

Mr. Gottschall refers with a disdainful smile to the effort made by the Dominican people to raise the campaign funds for those who struggle to defend their rights.

These funds were collected in Santo Domingo within a single week; they were given joyously, with the most spontaneous expressions of loyalty to the ideal of liberty; they were never raised, as the writer asserts, by means of exactions and commercial boycotts.

Mr. Gottschall admits that the real rôle of the United States consists of guiding the Dominican people on the road of democracy, and declares that America should not abandon Santo Domingo in its struggles to attain a noble self-development and to occupy an honorable position in the society of nations. The Dominican ideal is identical with the noble intention of the North America Republic. The Dominicans cannot aspire to a better destiny than to receive the generous support of the American people, but they do not abandon their own ideal of liberty and independence because of such an alluring prospect.

## THE BARE FACTS ABOUT SANTO DOMINGO

By WILLIAM E. PULLIAM\*

*A Frank and Friendly Review by the Former Receiver General of Dominican Customs—Sympathy for Santo Domingo in Latin America—The American Occupation*

SECRETARY COLBY did not find all smooth sailing on his recent ceremonial trip to South America. There was a seamy side to the voyage—a fly in the pomade, and on the wings of that figurative insect were emblazoned the two words "Santo" and "Domingo." These words stand for the Dominican Republic, a spot now very much in the public eye. The United States with its military occupation has been in active and complete control of the affairs of that country since 1916, not, however, without the vehement and repeated protests of the natives. Dominican emissaries preceded Secretary Colby on his South American trip. Speaking a common tongue and hailing from the first refuge in

the New World of Columbus, it is not strange that they met with a sympathetic reception from the press and Latin-American officials of the several countries visited, in the presentation of the grievances and lost liberty of their people. At his very first stop, Rio de Janeiro, Secretary Colby so sensed the unfavorable sentiment that he

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was obliged to make reference to it in his set speech, when he spoke of "those in our midst sowing seeds of discord." If the wireless of the battleship Florida could spark again and its significance be published to the world, it could a tale unfold about the feeling of resentment prevailing in South America regarding our forcible occupation of Santo Domingo, and would show the need that something be done at once to mitigate that feeling and, incidentally, to save Mr. Colby from further embarrassment.

Last Christmas Eve, just as Secretary Colby was sailing from Rio, the Navy Department gave out a proclamation for our withdrawal from Santo Domingo. It was not done ungrudgingly, but was a forced step for reasons stated above. It was realized by Washington that such an important announcement instantly would be scattered broadcast, particularly throughout Latin America, during the holiday season, when we are taught that "peace on earth and good-will toward men" should prevail. Secretary Colby arrived at Montevideo on Dec. 28. But a string, or several strings, are attached to the naval proclamation. These impose certain conditions to be met by the Dominican people before they are to be considered again ready to take over the reins of their own Government. At this writing (first week in February) nothing definite has been done or announced, and the hitch in the proposed move continues, according to a recent statement given out at Washington.

#### ATTITUDE OF LEADERS

The viewpoint of the leading Dominicans, in the absence of any constituted Dominican authority, which no longer exists, has been that, as the United States in 1916 obliterated their constituted Government, which would necessarily be the recognized medium for communicating with another nation, the first step should be the restoration of that Government, even in a skeleton form, before it would be practicable to treat officially and in a dignified and patriotic manner with the United States or any other Government. Further, that while the wishes of Santo Domingans were not consulted at the time of the occupation, they should be given a large part in determining the pro-

cedure and in drafting the plan for the withdrawal of the American naval forces and other control.

The best minds agree that this should not be effected with precipitous haste, but should be gradual, one side giving aid and a helping hand to the other. For it must be understood and appreciated that the Americans tore down the old order of things and erected in its stead a governmental administration modeled along entirely different lines, but not fully accomplished; therefore the necessity for caution and prudence, coupled with an absence of rancor and an honest attempt at international co-operation. That, the Dominicans hold, can be attained just as soon as their sovereignty is restored.

Going back to Montevideo, we find the press of that city giving prominence to an interview with Secretary Colby. Referring particularly to the Dominican situation, Mr. Colby in defending our Government is reported to have said (*La Mañana* of Dec. 29 last) that in his opinion Haiti and Santo Domingo form a separate world and have nothing in common with the other South American countries. That statement was considered sensational by the paper reporting it, and it was loath to believe its correctness, desiring rather to attribute it to the haste of the reporter in transcribing his notes. The dailies of Buenos Aires carried a report proceeding from Montevideo that President Brum and his Minister of Foreign Relations intended to improve the opportunity of Mr. Colby's stay among them to suggest to him that Uruguay would look with great favor upon a happy solution of the present conflict between the United States and Santo Domingo.

Dr. Brum, a man of parts, is an eminent statesman known favorably throughout all of South America. Three years ago he was entertained as a Presidential guest by our Government. Perhaps in his concern for Santo Domingo, owing to its size and exposed condition, he was not entirely unmindful of the fact that his own country, Uruguay, is the smallest republic in South America, with a population of, perhaps, 1,000,000 and an area of but 72,110 square miles. His solicitude for the national welfare of the smaller Dominican Republic was significant and may be taken as truly indi-

cative of the trend of public opinion in Latin America.

#### AMERICAN OCCUPATION

We occupied Santo Domingo in 1916. The pertinent point of Admiral Knapp's proclamation, dated Nov. 29, 1916, reads:

The occupation is undertaken with no immediate or ulterior object of destroying the sovereignty of Santo Domingo, but is designed to assist the country to return to a condition of internal order which would enable it to observe the terms of the treaty concluded with the United States in 1907, and the obligations which rest upon it as one of the family of nations.

The foregoing clearly recognized and acknowledged Santo Domingo to be a separate and independent State and a member of the family of constituted nations. The pretext of our occupation was that the country violated one of the provisions of the American-Dominican Convention of Feb. 8, 1907. A part of Article 3 of that Treaty reads:

Until the Dominican Republic has paid the whole amount of the bonds of the debt its public debt shall not be increased except by previous agreement between the Dominican Government and the United States.

Another count laid against the Dominicans was that they were or had been engaged in a disastrous revolution. And this second charge, like the first, was true. The Dominicans contended that the increased or unauthorized public debt was of an internal nature caused by internecine warfare when the Government became demoralized and unpaid bills and salary accounts were neglected and accumulated. Their understanding of "public debt" in the treaty was that it referred to foreign indebtedness of the same kind which had become repudiated and hung over the country like a pall in 1905, when Italian and French warships were in the offing ready to take drastic steps if Uncle Sam failed. This brought about our peaceful intervention (fiscal participation only) in that year. A temporary arrangement continued twenty-eight months, when the provisions of the formal convention of 1907 became effective. The second count related to revolution. The Dominicans did engage in that national pastime, but never did they loot American vested interests, never did they molest American women, nor torture or

murder American citizens. On the contrary, they always made it a rule to let foreigners alone.

But even if revolutionary conditions prevailed (a fact no one denies or attempts to palliate), was it not their country? And was not the business at hand their affair? The observation just made may not be couched in language Wilsonian, but what immediately follows surely is:

Now I am for the 80 per cent. It is none of my business and none of your business how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business, and it is none of yours, how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The Government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it, and godspeed them in getting it, is theirs. And, so far as my influence goes, while I am President nobody shall interfere with them. (Jackson Day address at Indianapolis, Jan. 8, 1915.)

In the opinion of the writer, the above idealism was as ill-advised as it was ill-timed. But, nevertheless, it was enunciated by the highest American authority. It was given wide publicity in the United States and sent in all directions throughout Latin-America. If that was good for one, why not for another? Why such an invidious distinction against poor, weak and defenseless Santo Domingo! The "it" referred to above, stood for liberty. Well, Dominicans had obtained their liberty long years ago—obtained it as a result of a conquest by arms without the advice or consent or any assistance whatever from the United States. Can we in fairness blame them for doing all in their power to preserve it, even though in its enjoyment it may have been sadly manhandled?

#### THE CUSTOMS CONVENTION

The American-Dominican Convention of 1907, prepared and promulgated under Secretary Root, operated splendidly during the first five years of its existence, 1907-12, and does yet, for that matter, with the difference that since the last date mentioned, revolutions have recurred. Experience early showed that the convention did not go far enough. It provided for an amicable fiscal participation, established the receivership of customs revenue, which functioned with and was an integral part of the Dominican Government machinery. From the very start receipts under American control increased and exceeded the most

sanguine expectations. With the fiscal control it was thought that revolutions had been checked and discouraged. After serving the bond issue of \$20,000,000 in the United States gold bonds which are a first lien on the customs receipts, and paying all the operating expenses of the receivership and the customs service besides, the revenue then turned over to the Dominican treasury for the maintenance of the Government proper was actually in excess of the total amount formerly received when the Government was supposed to receive and did handle all of its Federal receipts. And this money was of the clean variety. Between 1907 and 1912 the country enjoyed tranquillity, and a real attempt was made at rehabilitation. Port works were started and modern road building commenced. But the cupidity of the ever-present political malcontent was not satisfied with the orderly processes of government. In Santo Domingo, as elsewhere, in the Caribbean, or in Central and South America, it is the same old story: The interminable conflict of the "outs" vs. the "ins." We have exactly the same political rivalry in the United States, but with us the gun stage is not reached and the contest ends at the polls, after which the voice of the majority constitutes the law of the land, and is respected. Not so in Latin America, and the situation in Santo Domingo may be taken as a typical case in point. Perhaps the Spanish temperament accounts for it. On Nov. 19, 1911, the then President, Ramon Cáceres, who had held office for four years, was assassinated while taking a drive on one of the highways of the capital. That unfortunate event precipitated the fresh trouble and outbreaks, which continued intermittently, and finally led to the American military intervention in 1916. The malcontents who perpetrated the crime sought the reins of Government, which carried with it access to the treasury. The original convention of 1907 only partially took care of the crying need of Santo Domingo, for it is not only necessary safely and honestly to collect the revenues but, as a subsequent step, equal care must be taken in spending it. All this can be arranged amicably, and, the writer believes, with the consent and approval of the best Dominican elements, without the

necessity of forcibly retaining control of their country. With the national purse-strings safeguarded, the incentive to revolution loses its lure. The tactics employed by Governor Taft in the Philippines would not be amiss in the Caribbean.

Santo Domingo is only now "on the map," though historically it started first in the Pan-American race. It possesses sugar lands equal to those of Cuba, also fertile fields for the production of tobacco; its cacao ranks with the best, its mahogany is famous, and late news brings the word of oil prospects. Thus, all the more, from now on, will the country remain in the public eye, and our treatment of it will be a source of constant interest to our Latin-American neighbors to the south of us.

#### THE DEPOSED PRESIDENT

The pretense for our occupation in 1916 was the unsanctioned increase in the Dominican national debt; but the treaty contains no penalty for infringement in that regard, much less the penalty of national death. A Dominican Government does not function. There is no Dominican President, no Dominican Cabinet, and no Dominican Congress, nor has there been for more than four years. The deposed President, Dr. Henríquez y Carvajal, is a distinguished member of The Hague Tribunal; he is at present in New York, living in a very modest way. Refused an audience at the State Department, he patiently waits, believing that he will be allowed to return to his native land, and that American public opinion will accept the belief of the eminent Dominican that what has taken place is "an error of policy and not the imperialistic will of this great people."

The writer of the foregoing is an American of pre-revolutionary stock, a Southerner by birth and breeding, who has lived an aggregate of nearly twenty years in several Spanish-speaking countries. As a result of this experience, he feels that not all the virtues are hidden under white skins. He has an abiding faith in the desirability and feasibility of the "square deal" whether between individuals or as applied to the intercourse between nations, great and small.

## HAITI'S NEED OF AMERICAN RULE

*Warning by Admiral Knapp that American occupation of Haiti must be continued to assure the island's future*

REAR ADMIRAL H. S. KNAPP, in a report on conditions in Haiti made public by the Navy Department on Feb. 13, 1921, urged that Haiti should be held for years to come, as the only means of maintaining the progress which the island republic has made under the American régime. Admiral Knapp declared that the cry for complete independence came from an element which did not represent as much as 5 per cent. of the population, and that the only aim of the agitators in demanding the abrogation of the 1915 treaty between Haiti and the United States was to restore the old régime of graft and wholesale exploitation. The report advocated the extension of the treaty, but expressed a strong belief, based on study of the conditions, that the American rule must be continued. The salient passages of Admiral Knapp's report are given below:

People of the United States should not be deceived by the words "Republic of Haiti" into believing that there exists in Haiti, or ever has, a republic in any true sense. The so-called republic, in which the population is 97 per cent. illiterate, left to itself, has been a tyrannical oligarchy, in which those in power fastened upon the masses of the population.

Tranquillity and security now exist practically throughout Haiti. Now and then one hears of robberies, as in New York or other places in the United States, but these small affairs no more betoken general conditions than they do in the United States. From all I can gather, persons can move about in Haiti on their lawful affairs without fear of molestation. This is the direct result of armed American intervention.

I regard the maintenance of tranquillity and security in Haiti as still absolutely dependent upon the presence of the United States forces of occupation. The gendarmerie is a fine institution. It is increasing in efficiency. Its Haitian personnel is more and more being indoctrinated with, and is living up to, the ethical standards that its American personnel are endeavoring to inculcate.

With the exception of a few American officers the personnel of the gendarmerie comes from the Haitian people themselves, and its individuals have entered it with the traditions under which they have grown to

manhood. Those traditions were traditions of graft, and they must be eradicated and new traditions inculcated. This requires time, and not the mere placing of the rank and file in a uniform. Public confidence in the gendarmerie depends upon the stay of the American force of occupation.

What appears to me to be the real inspiration of the agitation that has gone on is the desire of the Haitians to have their Government entirely to themselves, to get rid of the obligations imposed by the treaty of 1915, and of the presence of the new officials in Haiti resulting from that treaty. Much smoke has been raised by propaganda against the military forces of occupation.

This agitation has been a convenient cry for the agitators to gain the public ear in the United States and the sympathy of people who, however high-minded, know nothing of the conditions; while the real object has been to ask the abrogation of the treaty with the United States and the return to the Haitians of the unrestricted management of the public affairs of the republic. Could this be attained, I think 999 Haitians in every 1,000 would be glad to have the Americans remain, to police the island, leaving the agitators to their own devices.

My conviction is that all the agitation that is going on is done by less than one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the Haitian people. Estimating the population of Haiti at from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000, this would mean that the agitators are from 2,000 to 2,500 in number. I give this figure as a very conservatively exaggerated estimate; it has been reported to me that Haitians themselves have said that only between 300 and 400 of the Haitian people are agitators against the United States.

As it is now, as great a portion of the total revenue as is possible under the terms of the treaty is honestly collected, and the revenue so collected is honestly spent. While it is probably impossible to state that graft does not still exist, it is concealed graft, unknown to the United States treaty officials.

Public instruction is in a very backward state, and the more so as the treaty unfortunately provides for no treaty officials to lend assistance on the part of the United States toward the betterment of educational methods and facilities. Agriculture is conducted in a very primitive manner. So far as is known, the wealth of Haiti resides in the richness of its soil, but the methods of cultivation are primitive to a degree. The system of taxation is one that makes the poor man poorer and the rich man richer.

The United States has made a start and has done much for the good of Haiti, but it

has only made a start and has done nothing like as much as friends of Haiti would like to see. Should the United States now withdraw, even though it were to leave a military force in occupation to insure a continuance of peace, it is my conviction that the results of the last five years would be, in large measure, lost, and that Haiti would start at once on a backward course, instead of continuing on a forward course.

The United States should not turn back from the altruistic work it has started there, but must continue, under the treaty and, if possible, under extensions of the treaty, to give its help and guidance for the benefit of the 95 per cent. of the Haitian people who have no spokesman and whose interests are a matter of indifference to the other 5 per cent., and especially to the much smaller proportion of that number who are actively engaged in agitation.

I believe the true aim of the agitators is the abrogation of the treaty and the unrestricted return to the Haitians (by which I mean the small dominant class) of their Government, to be run by them to suit their own personal ends.

It is the present attitude of the great part of the people, even of the agitators, to be quite willing and probably anxious to have the occupation remain, certainly for a time.

The agitators know in their hearts that the presence of the occupying troops does insure tranquillity in this turbulent and revolutionary republic, and I believe that most of them, while striving to get back complete control of their affairs in their own hands by the abrogation of the treaty, are willing to have the occupation continue. The factions that hate each other are united in willingness for the troops to remain to keep order.

They fail to recognize that such forces of occupation, if they had any function at all, would be obliged to maintain peace and order and to support the Government recognized by the United States, and could not stand idly back and merely be present in Haiti while the contending groups fought to determine which should come into power in the good old way and with all the horrors of savage warfare.

I consider it to be out of the question that the treaty can or should be abrogated; it should, by suitable protocols, be extended so that the aid and assistance of the United States might be given in other ways, specifically mentioned, such as education. If the treaty is to remain in force, it is my opinion that the United States forces of occupation must remain in Haiti for a considerable time to insure its observance by that nation.

## AIRCRAFT SECRETS OF THE WAR

**C**OLONEL L. H. STRAIN, who was in charge of the Airplane versus Submarine Department of the British Admiralty, revealed some of the wartime secrets in a lecture delivered in December before the Scottish branch of the Royal Aeronautical Society. At first there were only twenty seaplanes to patrol the British coasts, and the results in hunting German submarines were disappointing. Not until a special department under Admiral Duff was devoted solely to anti-submarine measures did the airplane begin to triumph. Up to the end of 1915 only one submarine was known to have been seriously damaged by aircraft. In 1917 aircraft sank seven submarines and seriously damaged fifteen; the next year four were sunk and twenty-four injured. When flying boats first came into use the Germans could not see more than 30 degrees from the horizontal with their periscopes, and before they had altered these so as to sweep the whole sky six U-boats had been sunk and others damaged. Before the war ended aircraft had become a decisive influence in the defeat of the submarine.

In a later lecture before the Royal Aeronautical Society Commodore Maitland, one of the men who crossed the Atlantic in the R-34 in July, 1919, told of the perils of men in airships. During the war some 750 English observers in kite balloons descended safely from burning aircraft by means of parachutes, and only three parachutes failed to open; about 800 Frenchmen also saved their lives in the same way. Colonel Maitland revealed the fact that black parachutes were used for dropping spies at night behind the German lines from airplanes; he added that the Germans, retaliating by the same method, had dropped spies dressed as British officers behind the allied lines, and that some of these spies had actually misdirected the traffic during the retreat of the British in 1918.

In this lecture Commodore Maitland described the trip in the R-34, the first dirigible to cross the Atlantic. A few days later (Jan. 29) the R-34, which had won international fame and had cost more than \$1,000,000, was reduced to a hopeless wreck by a high wind, which smashed it outside its aerodrome near London.

# A CONSTRUCTIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY

By WILLIAM H. BARR  
President of the Inter-Racial Council\*

WE have been favored of late with many startling interviews and speeches about the so-called alien hordes that are overrunning America and the fifteen to twenty-five million more immigrants who "want to come." The voices of dispassionate thinkers on this subject, so vital to the nation's welfare, have been drowned by sensation mongers until public sentiment seemed ripe to allow the making of drastic laws—laws absolutely without precedent in this nation's history and in violation of all its traditions—that would cut off immigration for a year. It is worth while, instead of accepting the statements made by the opponents of immigration, to set over against them the cold facts of the case.

The latest figures on immigration published by the United States Government are from the beginning of the fiscal year, July to November, 1920, inclusive—a period of five months. During this time there were 472,859 immigrants admitted, while 181,505 persons left this country. The balance is, therefore, 291,354 for five months. This is a monthly average of 58,271 net immigration for the period covered. If this average should continue for the fiscal year 1921, the total net immigration for the year would be 699,252. This is less than the immigration for 1913 or for 1914.

As a matter of fact, the immigration during the period of the World War was so small, while the outgo of men of military age was so great, that it will take four or five years of maximum immigration to make up the loss. This was demonstrated in the 1920 census, the first census on record to show an increase as low as 14.9 per cent. The population of the United States is 105,683,108, according to the census of 1920, as compared with a total of 91,972,266 for 1910 and of 75,994,575 for 1900. This is an increase since 1910 of 13,710,842, or only

14.9 per cent., as compared with an increase from 1900 to 1910 of 14,977,691, or 21 per cent.

It is thus apparent that it is not the number of actual arrivals but the prospect of future floods of immigration that causes all this alarm. It can be demonstrated, I think, that this is a false alarm.

## ONLY 1,000,000 YEARLY

Let us first consider what experts have to say on the subject of the fifteen to twenty-five million immigrants who want to come. In an interview in The New York Herald, P. A. S. Franklin, President of the International Mercantile Marine, declared that the number of would-be immigrants is only slightly larger than it was before the war, and that there are fewer ships to carry them. About a million a year is the maximum capacity of the Atlantic shipping, says this expert on shipping, and at that rate it would take fifteen years to bring over the fifteen million refugees. In that time conditions in Europe would be so settled that the desire to escape from post-war conditions would no longer be a factor.

Mr. Franklin contended that the immigration alarmists fail to compute the number who go back, which changes the whole status of the so-called "alien invasion." His figures for the calendar year 1920—including Canadian estimates for the sake of comparison—are as follows:

	UNITED STATES PORTS			
	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Total.
Westbound	68,637	131,636	484,124	684,397
Eastbound	63,725	92,625	302,433	458,783
Grand total.....				1,143,180
	CANADIAN PORTS			
Westbound	6,344	54,032	111,241	171,617
Eastbound	4,975	34,713	57,484	97,172
Grand total.....				268,799

Of the total number of passengers both ways between the United States and Europe, or 1,143,180, only 484,124 are steerage passengers to America, against 302,433 of

\*An address delivered before the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce Jan. 21, 1921.

the same class going back. The net immigration of steerage passengers, therefore, is only 181,691 for 1920.

Another steamship man who testified before the Senate Committee on Immigration is Lawson Sandford, representing Phelps Brothers & Co. His net immigration total for steerage passengers — 197,000 — corresponded closely with Mr. Franklin's estimate.

Mr. Sandford had a good deal to say about the present lack of transportation facilities. He declared that shipping was about the same as in 1907, *less the German ships, which amounted to 20 per cent.* About 90 per cent. of the German liners are out of service. As in 1907 the admissions were 1,221,658, Mr. Sandford's estimate would virtually agree with the others that a million a year is the most we can expect at present. But these figures do not seem as startling as the fifteen or twenty-five million refugees who "want to come." Therefore, they are not so prominently played up.

#### APPEARANCES DECEPTIVE

Before the Senate committee, Frederick A. Wallis, Commissioner of Immigration for the Port of New York, put the situation very clearly when he said that there was a vast difference between "wanting to come" and "being able to come." About a million a year is the maximum which he estimated as being able to make the difficult and expensive trip to America. With a million a year as the highest estimate of these authorities, we must always remember that there are large numbers going back, so that the net immigration will be far below that figure.

Another witness before the Senate committee threw a new light on the picture of swarms of refugees waiting for passports. Like the stage army that marches round and round back of the scenes, the appearance of great numbers is given by a comparatively small number of people. Thus the 2,500 persons standing in line every day before the American passport office in Warsaw did not mean 2,500 different applicants a day, but practically the same 2,500 coming back day after day. Such was the testimony of John L. Bernstein of the Hebrew Sheltering Aid Society of New York, who said that at the time he witnessed this sight only 40 to 70 passports a day were

being issued. It is true, he declared, that 250,000 Jewish women and children wished to come to America to be united with the heads of their families now here, but there are no funds to bring anything like that number. Regarding the statement that 58,000 Jews came to the United States in October, he declared that only 12,217 came in that month, or less than one-fourth the number claimed by immigration opponents. Mr. Bernstein also testified that, while the desire to emigrate was strong, the desire to remain in Poland was stronger, provided conditions became settled there.

#### SOME DETERRENT FORCES

A point overlooked by immigration alarmists is that most people hesitate to undertake the great adventure of seeking their fortune across the seas. This applies not only to Poland, but to every nation that sends us immigrants. It should be borne in mind that religious and political freedom is guaranteed in most countries of Europe at present. America is no longer the only refuge from oppression, and, therefore, those who come here will do so mainly for economic reasons.

The railroad and steamship fares, the fees for passports and visés and the incidental expenses amount to a small fortune when computed in the money of the countries of Europe. It is estimated that the passage costs the price of a little farm over there, and we may be sure that as soon as the readjustment in Europe is well under way the number of people who "want to come" will be far below the estimated fifteen or twenty-five million.

It must be remembered that, in addition to the prevailing destitution in Europe, there was the lure of exceedingly high wages in America during 1918, 1919 and 1920, and that there were more jobs than men to fill them. The conditions of unemployment that make the immigrant unwelcome at present, according to the exclusionists, will also make the alien reluctant to come.

Immigration obeys to a great extent the law of supply and demand. When wages were at their top notch here the word went out to Europe, and increased immigration resulted. When news of the closing of our mills and shops penetrates the mind of Europe there will be a decline in immigration,

law or no law. But to set an arbitrary period for the suspension of immigration is to interfere with a process as natural as the law of gravitation. It is proposed to exclude immigration for a year, yet before the end of the twelve months we may be clamoring for more help to man our industries and till our fields.

#### NEED OF FARM LABOR

Already there are indications of the same sort of farm labor shortage in 1921 that caused such great losses last year. According to the best authorities—the employing agriculturists of the West and South—we shall have to face the same labor shortage this year. A resolution passed in December by the Southern Alluvial Land Association protested strongly against the exclusion of farm laborers. According to Secretary F. D. Beneke of that organization, not more than one-third of the 25,000 acres of rich bottom lands in the immediate lower Mississippi Valley is being utilized, although virtually all of it can be brought under the plow and made highly profitable because of excellent natural advantages. There are many farmers of foreign birth in the region and they have contributed materially in bringing it from idleness to productivity. Most of them have proved to be excellent citizens in every respect. The text of the resolution is as follows:

*Whereas* there is a bill before Congress proposing the restriction of immigration into the United States of America for a period of two years; and

*Whereas* during the years 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1920 the farmers of the United States experienced great difficulties in making their crops on account of an acute shortage of farm labor; and

*Whereas* there are hundreds of abandoned farms in all parts of the United States as a result of a farm-labor shortage; and

*Whereas* there are many fertile farming sections of the United States in an undeveloped state, awaiting the coming of the farmer, including the rich alluvial region of the lower Mississippi Valley; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, by the Board of Directors of the Southern Alluvial Land Association, this 11th day of December, 1920, That we strongly protest against the exclusion of European farmers and farm labor from the United States, and that we petition Congress to admit such European immigrants as will hasten the development of America's agricultural resources.

From the Northwestern agricultural sec-

tions comes the same cry of "Help Wanted." Testifying before the Senate committee, Walter W. Liggett, Deputy Labor Commissioner of North Dakota, stated that there were about 20,000,000 acres of land in his State that would not be tilled next year, though this vast area would be available to raise food products if men could be found to cultivate it.

Employers of labor in various industries appeared before the Senate committee to ask for exceptions in their own particular line. Cigar men from Tampa wanted Cuban cigarmakers admitted. The Florida growers who produce the early vegetables that surprise us so pleasantly in midwinter menus wanted labor from the Bahamas to be exempt. The beet growers, wool and cattle men of the Southwest wanted Mexicans to be permitted to come in, and so on. Every employer spoke for his own labor supply, but in summing up the testimony it appeared that the need for unskilled immigrant labor was general.

Unemployment exists in certain lines, that is true; but to shut out our supply of farmers, coal miners or iron workers for a year because the textile and automobile men are temporarily idle is not logical.

The weight of the testimony was to the effect that strict enforcement of the existing laws would shut out the diseased, the mentally, morally or physically unfit, and also those whose anarchistic activities would threaten American institutions. *Such laws as exist must be adequately enforced and provision should be made for their enforcement.* This would quiet the alarm of those ill-informed persons who see in every alien a dangerous "red" or a public charge.

#### CONSTRUCTIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY

It is in view of the facts given above that I am opposing legislation that would cut off immigration for any stated period. I am strongly in favor of constructive legislation that would accomplish the following things:

1. The creation of a Board of Immigration with regulative powers, to be appointed by Congress or by the President. This board should secure information from worldwide sources regarding the types of immigrant that can be assimilated, the quality and numbers of those desiring to enter America, and the needs for labor in all parts of the United

States and in all lines of industry. With such facts to go on, and power to regulate admissions, there would be no need of a haphazard system such as the admission of a certain percentage of certain races. On the contrary, admission would be determined by the assimilative qualities of the immigrant and the demand for his services at that particular period.

2. The creation of machinery to place the immigrant of the right type in that part of the country where he is needed, instead of allowing him to drift into congested city slums, as at present.

3. In order to make the findings of the suggested Immigration Board impartial, it should represent all the interests affected by immigration; that is, manufacturing, labor, agricultural and racial interests. This board should not only be given facilities to learn the facts concerning the foreign born in this country, such as housing conditions, community life, the foreign language press, racial societies and immigrant banks and employment agencies, but it should also take active measures to safeguard the interests of the new arrivals, protect them from fraud and exploitation, and arrange for their distribution according to the industrial needs of the country.

4. As an aid in the process of assimilating the immigrants I recommend that all legislation providing for the extension of educational facilities for foreign-born residents, including all appropriations that may be made for the purpose of training and appointing competent instructors in co-operation with various States, should be under general administration of the board.

5. In general, I submit the desirability of placing in one board all duties of investigation, regulation, supervision, education and naturalization concerning the admissibility, distribution, citizenship and assimilation of foreign-born residents. The Board of Immigration should be permitted discretion in establishing the necessary bureaus, subject to such appropriation as is annually set aside for the purpose.

#### JUSTICE FOR THE IMMIGRANT

As a matter of justice to the immigrant as well as to America, the process of weeding out the undesirable applicants should begin on the other side. The European

peasant who sells his home and household goods and embarks for this country, only to be rejected at Ellis Island, is in a desperate plight, and, what is more, great numbers of his sort add to the congestion at our ports of entry, a condition that makes enforcement of the immigration laws very difficult.

In addition to constructive immigration legislation, the Interracial Council believes in and promotes a constructive policy regarding the employment and treatment of immigrants in industrial plants and within communities.

The day of considering the alien worker as a commodity has passed. We must regard him as a man in all essential respects like ourselves, with his pride of race, his ambitions to better himself and to make opportunities for his children, and with the makings of a high-grade American citizen under the rough garb of a steerage passenger.

Discrimination against these people because of their race is not only an injustice but an insult which they resent. The alien, far from home, thinks of his homeland as one thinks of his mother, and nothing is more apt to excite his resentment than any slur cast upon his race or on his native land. The foreman who speaks of his men as "hunkies" or "wops" does not realize that such epithets are as insulting as a blow.

In the new spirit of toleration and fair play which will make American industrial relations a matter of teamwork instead of warfare, the immigrant must not be regarded as the exception to the rule. If better housing, for example, is provided for the American workers in an industry, it is wrong to leave the foreign-born worker to his shanty town or his slum dwellings. If he is to be taught to respect America, Americans must learn to respect him.

# ITALY'S CRISIS SUBSIDING

BY GINO SPERANZA

Former Attaché of the American Embassy at Rome.

*How Premier Giolitti's deft handling of a delicate situation has avoided a catastrophe—Re-establishing the reign of law in the factories of Italy—New elements of stability now in evidence.*

THERE is much significance in the fact that recent correspondence from Italy—even from confirmed pessimists—lays stress on the "Stellone d'Italia"; for when that bright, particular star which is supposed to watch over the destinies of Italy is in the ascendant and Italians again speak of it, we may be quite sure that the situation is improving in that classic land. As a matter of fact, the Stellone is the Italian way of saying that you cannot fool all the people all the time; it is the symbol of that reasonableness which is at the root of the Italian mentality.

Indeed, it is this basic tendency to test things, however alluring, by good sense, and a racial unwillingness to be stampeded or hurried into changes, that have helped to solve many of the desperately complicated problems which have faced that country in a bare half century of national life. Consider only one of them—that of the temporal claims of the Papacy—as delicate and complex a domestic-international problem as any modern State has had to grapple with. Realize how in fifty years this problem has "solved itself"; how moderation and a genuine belief in the salving power of time on both sides (and both sides were Italian!) have rendered possible a tacit and workable accord, practically without bloodshed and with no residue of hatred—at least among the Italians in the Church.

This same good sense and poise are undoubtedly at work today in Italy, indeed have been at work ever since that period, under the Premiership of Nitti, when Italy seemed at the crisis of its post-war experience. That was the period (November, 1919) when the general elections were held in an atmosphere of the deepest national gloom. Italian morale was then at its lowest ebb, far more so than in those spectacular and violent but less subtly critical days of anarchical and Bolshevik outbreaks, which

to some of us seemed to foreshadow the political débâcle of Italy.

When such general elections were held, Italy, rightly or wrongly, felt itself abandoned, if not betrayed, by its former allies. The country counted itself among the vanquished nations in the World War and discontent and despair gripped the heart of the people. The Socialists capitalized and utilized this discontent and sense of disillusion and made a tremendous drive for votes. On the other hand, the Liberals and many of the Constitutionalists—that is, the bourgeois element which is the backbone of Italy—kept away in large numbers from the polls. For them the star of Italy had set!

## "GLOOM ELECTION" RESULTS

Thus a new Parliament was returned with large Socialist and Clerical gains, a substantial element in both parties being frankly communistic, besides having a good sprinkling of anarchists. A general amnesty, easily wrung from a frightened Government, let loose upon a distracted country a number of criminally minded men. Italy saw a confessed deserter like Misiano and an active anarchist like Malatesta, both fugitives from justice, returning to their native land as members of the new Chamber of Deputies.

Then came strike upon strike, with bloody riots and violence of all sorts. Yet even then close observers could discern signs that Italy had begun to pull herself together. It is true that a "strong" Government might have put down quickly, by drastic repressive measures, the violence and disorder that challenged even the State. Yet it was not wholly weakness which allowed defiance of law to go so long unchallenged. Behind the Government's announced policy of "neutrality" stood a popular belief that, since matters had gone so far, it would be, on the

whole, less bloody and less violent to let the fever burn itself out. In regard to this, it must be borne in mind that one great element of strength in Socialist propaganda in Italy was that, except in the co-operative field, socialist and communistic theory had not been tested by actual experiment.

Even the Russian lesson, though extolled by Italian Socialist orators, had never been accepted as at all conclusive by the Italian proletariat, and the reports brought back from the Soviet Republic by Italian Socialists who had gone to see the "truth" powerfully aided to destroy what illusions some convinced Italian Communists might have entertained about Russia. Hence when the Italian Government, either through partial helplessness or wise intent, allowed considerable latitude in the experimental field—from the taking of private property to the establishment of local Soviets—the masses, which, though unschooled, are very intelligent, had some useful object lessons served out to them of what they might get under a new revolutionary régime.

#### THE PUBLIC REVOLTS

It was not long before the Maximalist majority in the Socialist Party found itself on the defensive. Filippo Turati, leader of the Minimalists, wisely remained within the party; all the anathemas poured out against him by the intransigents, not excluding Lenin's, did not result in his expulsion. From within he constantly and fearlessly appealed to the reasonableness and good sense of the masses, and subjected the reports from Russia, either pro-Soviet or against it, to his lucid and fearless analysis. A consistent Socialist, he stood adamant against all violence, proletarian and sovietistic or bourgeois and capitalistic. Through his writings and Parliamentary addresses he did much to give an intelligent and intellectual content to the program of Italian socialism. Instead of leaving the party when the violence of the Maximalists alienated many of its sympathizers, both within and outside the organization, he made use of those excesses to distinguish and define the Marxist principles for which he and his followers stood. These, he maintained, were the principles upon which the party had grown and prospered. He always relied on the good sense

of the Italian masses if they were only of the Italian masses, if they were only calmly the significance and purport of events.

How justified was his belief was shown, in a measure, by the results of the recent Socialist Congress of Leghorn. Lenin himself had ordered Turati's expulsion, but, instead, the Turatian views prevailed to the extent that the extremists, finding themselves in a marked minority, bolted the Congress. What the eventual effects of this split will be cannot at present be foretold, for the Congress marked a division of leaders rather than a definitive realignment of radical and revolutionary forces. That will come later and will be shaped largely by future events, in Italy and elsewhere, and by the ability of the respective leaders to make use of such events. But the immediate result of the Congress means a clear defeat of the program of violence.

#### GIOLITTI'S OBJECT LESSON

Meanwhile Giolitti's special abilities have been shown in his handling of events so as to bring home to the people the difference between what we may call socialistic theories and aspirations and a program of anarchy and mere destruction. He has not brought about such events—time and forces beyond any individual control have done that—but he has utilized them as object lessons for the masses, while making it appear as if he were directing them. The metallurgical "lock-in" furnished him an unusual opportunity for his talents, and he made the most of it. His position of "neutrality" was without warrant of law. Nevertheless, it made possible that breathing space during which both sides to the conflict, as well as the public, had a chance squarely to face possible consequences and to meditate on results. The imminence of a revolution and the changes in duties, burdens and responsibilities which such an upturn would mean became far more patent to the masses, who then stood at the crossroads. Giolitti's real service was in giving them a chance to think at the moment of climax. His next move was perhaps less justifiable, but had some distinct advantages. Finding that the parties to the controversy could not come together, he said, in substance: "I shall end the Govern-

ment's 'neutrality' and side with you, workmen, to the extent that I shall legalize your illegalities and ask Parliament for laws to meet your demands; but from now on you cannot shift your responsibility for the fundamental innovations you demand. The public will henceforth know to whom to look for the consequences."

#### FIXING THE RESPONSIBILITY ..

In pursuance of such promise, Giolitti's Cabinet has recently given out to the press a bill for the creation of factory councils or commissions.

Whether the bill carries out the spirit of his pledges to organized labor is a matter which will be thoroughly thrashed out in the Italian Chamber and Senate. It provides for a commission of "Controllo" of nine members for each of the important industries of the country, except those under government ownership, like the railroads. These commissions are elected on a proportional basis by the adult workers of each industry, six members representing the laborers and three the technical and higher employees. Two or more delegates are chosen by the commission in each factory where at least sixty workmen are employed, and which has been in operation for at least four years, such delegates being drawn from the workers in such factories and being charged with the duty of making reports and furnishing data to the commission. The employers or manufacturers are also to have a commission of nine of their own to keep in touch and negotiate with the Workmen's Commission. The "Controllo" is to consist largely in the right to access and explanation of data bearing on the methods of purchasing, of fixing production prices and of the administration or business end of the industry, except "the secrets of manufacture," whatever that may mean or be interpreted to mean. Provision is made for various details, including the appointment of labor bureaus under joint control, for the regulation of methods of employment and discharge, for the reduction in employes or in hours of labor and for arbitration in case of differences.

The bill will probably satisfy neither side to the controversy; but even if it fails to become law, it will have furnished a very useful purpose as a test of the sincerity of both employers and employes and in fur-

ther strengthening the Government. For Giolitti's strength lies today in the fact that he has convinced the people that, even while making concessions to extreme demands, he means to govern and to have the law respected. This is what Italy has needed most since the armistice—real and effective government. As one liberal and independent paper recently wrote, "Let it be Bolshevik law, if nothing else will do, but let it be law."

#### REACTION OF VOTERS

The sobering influence of time and responsibilities which has accentuated this growing demand for real government became strikingly evident in the provincial administrative elections which were held throughout Italy on Nov. 7, 1920. Incomplete but conclusive returns gave the Constitutionalists, or Liberals, 4,067 communes of the kingdom, while the Socialists, who had made a tremendous fight and predicted a landslide, carried only 1,848 communes, with the Catholics trailing in last with 1,325 communes. More telling yet was the blow to Socialist prestige in the cities which, theretofore, had been Socialist strongholds. Florence, Genoa, Naples, Palermo and industrial Turin were lost, and the only Socialist victories were in Bologna and Milan, the latter by only 4,000 votes and with the Catholics abstaining.

Nor must we overlook, in connection with this gradual reasserting of the forces of law and order, the split which occurred in the young and militant Catholic Party. The Popolari, as the Catholics call themselves, had shown marked divergences, the Lefts outdoing the Socialists in communistic promises to the peasantry, and the Rights, though not friendly to the Government, holding a liberal program. But in the provincial elections the Italian priesthood, especially the higher prelates, openly threw their great influence in favor of the Rights. The Archbishop of Florence, for instance, went to the polls in semi-official pomp and cast his vote for the Liberal bloc, while the Archbishop of Genoa actually issued a decree against Catholics voting for the representatives of anarchy and social disorder. If we consider that a very large part of the Popolare Party is made up of devout Catholics it is clear that such Church members will follow their priestly

leaders rather than the teachers of the new communism.

#### STRENGTH TO GIOLITTI'S ARM

The electoral returns further encouraged the Government to a greater vigilance and a more assertive defense of the law of the land. Giolitti gave stringent orders for the suppression of violence, and proposed a law making it a crime to possess arms, hand grenades and explosives. The only opposition to this bill in Parliament came from the Socialists, a fact whose significance the Italian people were quick to sense. The activities of the Fascisti—young men, mostly, of the Italian middle class, college students and ex-service men—in heckling anarchical and subversive orators and in breaking up treasonable gatherings, while at times degenerating into vindictive violence, helped to expose the lack of character and of courage of some of the most eloquent and catastrophic Red leaders. The people witnessed anarchist Deputies who had preached against the army and the police as instruments of bourgeois oppression escorted through the streets by Royal Carabiniers and the King's Guards to whom they had applied for protection against the threats of the Fascisti. And the people understood the significance of this also.

Thus the forces of order, gradually gaining confidence and reasserting themselves, gave new prestige to a Ministry which finally felt itself strong enough to grapple even with the difficult question of Fiume. By securing a settlement which won the

substantial approval of the vast majority of the people, Giolitti added another element of stability to the general internal situation.

The economic wounds of the war cannot be healed in our generation, and the Italian State may still have to face grave questions and even political changes. But the subtler and immediately menacing crisis is undoubtedly over and the process, hereafter, despite ups and downs, will be distinctly evolutionary rather than revolutionary. As Turati impressively replied to those who urged "direct action," what is the use of violence in a country where universal suffrage is recognized as the fundamental law?

The only uncertainty which persists among thinking Italians is in regard to Giolitti's sincerity of purpose. Perhaps in his old age he will use his undoubted powers for his country's real and permanent good; yet a politician with a past like his cannot wholly be trusted. The time is near, however, for a test of his sincerity. For if the provincial elections meant anything it was as a referendum against the misrepresentative character of the present Parliament, elected during Italy's post-war moral crisis. It is within the constitutional powers of the Prime Minister to advise the Crown to dissolve Parliament and hold another general election. Will Giolitti have the courage to do this? And if he lacks it, will the King—who at a great crisis dramatically dismissed this same Premier for failing to hearken to the voice of the people—measure up higher than his Prime Minister?

#### INDIANS AS LIVE STOCK RAISERS

THAT the American Indian has made remarkable progress in raising live stock, thus becoming a valuable asset to the nation's prosperity, is set forth on the basis of data published by Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Among the facts given by Mr. Sells are these: The Indians now own 44,000,000 acres of grazing land. On this land graze 338,276 cattle, 1,229,871 sheep and 261,360 horses. Since 1913 the aggregate value of stock on all reservations has increased from approximately \$22,000,000 to \$38,000,000, and the number

of cattle from 265,114 to 338,276. The sheep have been greatly improved in grade, increased weight and yield of wool. In this development the measures for encouragement and training initiated by the Government played a by no means negligible rôle. Most of the live stock is owned, not tribally, but by individuals. The natural characteristics of the Indians make them peculiarly fitted for cattle raising. Mr. Sells believes that the time is near when their race, long dependent, will become thoroughly independent and self-supporting.

## ITALY AND THE SEVRES TREATY

*Count Sforza credited with bringing about the London convention for modifying the terms to Turkey—The Fiume settlement—Discipline for the Socialists*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

AS early as Jan. 27 the Rome press gave Count Sforza, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the credit of having brought about the Near East Convention at London on Feb. 21. It was then said that when the Treaty of Sèvres was being elaborated at San Remo a year ago, he had urged upon his chief, Signor Nitti, the necessity for a change in the terms: Too much had been taken from Turkey to insure peace there; more had been given to Greece than Greece could properly administer; the political stipulations made the influence of Great Britain paramount in the Levant at the expense of France and Italy; finally, Italy did not receive the territorial compensation promised her by the Treaty of London of 1915 and by the subsequent Anglo-Franco-Italian pact of the following year.

But Premier Nitti, it was said, ready to make any sacrifice in order to save Fiume and secure for Italy dominance in the Adriatic, but, more than all, desirous of promoting harmony at the Supreme Council, turned a deaf ear to the Count's suggestions. Ten months later, at Paris, last January, Count Sforza, now with plenipotentiary powers, was able to lay his criticisms before the Supreme Council, and, being joined in his argument by Premier Briand of France, the British Prime Minister was induced to consent to the Near East Convention.

Dr. Edouard Benès, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, was received by King Victor Emmanuel on Feb. 5. He proclaimed the reason of his mission was to secure the political, or, at least, the moral and commercial adhesion of Italy to the "Little Entente" (Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia), and also to warn the Rome Government against a plot for the union of Austria and Hungary and the return of the Hapsburgs that was being hatched in Switzerland between ex-Emperor Charles and Count Berchtold.

It was added by the papers, which had espoused the cause of Dr. Benès, that Ru-

mania had so far held aloof from the "Little Entente," because her demands for a defensive union against the Russian Soviets had not met with full approval at Prague and Belgrade, but more especially because she had been advised by France to stay out.

This advice, it was affirmed, had been based upon the following French diplomatic formula: In order to prevent the threatened adhesion of Austria to Germany, which would constitute a serious peril for France, Austria must be allowed to unite with Hungary, who would keep her from gravitating toward Germany; in gratitude for this privilege, which would also bring relief to Austria's deplorable economic situation, Hungary would require her to consent to the return of Charles to the re-established Austro-Hungarian throne.

Of course the union of Austria and Hungary, particularly with the return of the Hapsburgs, would constitute a grave danger to the recently emancipated parts of the defunct dual monarchy and also to Italy—hence the French advice to Rumania not to ally herself with those emancipated States, and hence Dr. Benès's disclosure and warning to Italy.

It was declared by the Rome correspondent of the *Progresso Italo-American* of New York on Feb. 8 that proof of the plot would be found in the archives of the State Department at Washington.

Dr. Benès reached Paris from Rome on his way to London Feb. 11. In Paris he said to The Associated Press correspondent that a commercial accord was being drawn up between his country and Italy. He added that the only way to save Austria was to permit her to recover through her domestic effort without any outside aid, which would only tend to make her irresponsible.

On Feb. 6 Gorizia, Parenzo, Pirano, Rovigno, Dignano, Pola, Monfalcone and other cities of liberated Venetian Istria, following the example of the former Irredente cities of the Trentino, popularly celebrated their

union with the mother country—la Madre Patria.

#### AFFAIRS IN FIUME

Elections in Fiume under the new régime are to be held in March; the campaign, begun with eight parties in the field, shows that the Nationalists, or those who desire union with Italy, keeping alive the d'Annunzio legend, have more to fear from the militant Socialists of all nationalities than from the Croats. Meanwhile, the Provisional Government reigns, which, on Feb. 6, ceremoniously welcomed the new Italian Minister, Count Caccia-Dominioni.

The five days in December during which successive Italian officials and Deputies tried in vain to have Gabriele d'Annunzio accept the Treaty of Rapallo, have been placed on record by the poet in a book called "I Documenti delle Cinque Giornate," a copy of which, on Jan. 17, every Deputy found on his desk at Montecitorio. It is a volume of 224 pages, written in the most feverish poetic prose imaginable, and including an array of documents. The preface describes the poet as the greatest servant of la Madre Patria, who secured to Italy the Schneeberg frontier and united to her Friuli and Istria—achievements hitherto attributed to the Italian Government and army.

Then d'Annunzio proceeds to inform his readers that the Government offered him honors and wealth if he would accept the treaty, which he denounces in vehement terms; he contrasts his own "noble and reasonable attitude" with "Giolitti's harsh and uncompromising declarations"; he attacks General Caviglia and contrasts his materialistic ambition with the "soul of Fiume, which has neither forgotten nor forgiven, nor yet disarmed, but awaits its hour." The documents follow. Some of those dealing with the military operations accuse the regulars of Caviglia of "atrocities against the civil population." Possibly the most important among the diplomatic documents is a letter of Zoli, d'Annunzio's Foreign Minister, intimating the existence of a secret agreement made between the Italians and Jugoslavs at Rapallo, which is said to cede the Porto Baros, the principal harbor of Fiume, to Croatia, which would, of course, rob the new State of its commerce and

prove a strategic menace to Italy as well. The Idea Nazionale is encouraged to believe in the existence of this secret agreement; the Messaggero repudiates the allegation, and, speaking of the book as a whole, says that "nothing so pernicious for the good name of the Italian Army has been published since the Caporetto inquiry."

#### THE MILITANT NATIONALISTS

Just as the economic situation, including the seizure of the factories by the workers early last Autumn, was misinterpreted abroad, so now the same thing is happening in regard to the clashes, many of them far from bloodless, which have been taking place between the Communists and the Frascisti, or militant Nationalists, in certain industrial and political centres, drastically put down by the Carabinieri, but, for a time, forcing the Government to proclaim a state of siege in the Provinces of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Parma and Piacenza. The most tragic conflict took place at Trieste, where a hundred Communists on Jan. 27 took possession of the business and printing plant of the Socialist paper *Il Lavoratore*, forced out the workers, turned the sheet into a Communist organ, and terrorized the neighborhood with their Red Guard, until, on Feb. 11, the Frascisti, mostly ex-soldiers, rushed the place and left the three-story palace a heap of ruins.

The causes of these conflicts were as follows: At the Socialist congresses of Imola, Reggio Emilia and Florence the disciples of Lenin had attempted to throw the party toward the Third International. The crisis came in the middle of January at the Leghorn Congress, where, as will be found elsewhere in this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, a large majority voted against the Third International, with the expulsion of the Communists from the party. Then the Communists reorganized on the basis of the Third International, the first rule of which is a revolution by force. They began to execute this rule, with the aid of certain labor unions, by calling general strikes, destroying property, and attacking officials.

Ever since the segregation of the metallurgic plants last Fall and the succeeding strikes and riots, the Government has been taking a firmer and firmer stand, sup-

ported by a growing yearning on the part of the public at large for peace and work. But before the Communists had proceeded far with their "direct action," the Frascisti, relieved from the tension of the Fiume problem, and encouraged by the growing sentiment against the disciples of Lenin, openly attacked the Communists wherever "direct action" was tried, with the avowed intention of freeing Italy from revolutionists, by the very simple process of wiping them out. So the conflict has raged, with the Socialists in Parliament asking the Government to suppress the Frascisti, and the public generally siding with the Frascisti in the name of patriotism.

It should not be imagined from the sensational accounts of the conflicts that the country is on the verge of revolution—on the contrary, the Nationalist element is growing stronger every day and the revolutionary element weaker. The majority of the people are working hard and doing what they can to pull the country together again, while agitators are too busy in protecting themselves from the Frascisti and fighting among themselves to be as dangerous as they might otherwise be—as dangerous as they appeared to be last Fall.

On Feb. 13 the Commission of Education, consisting of the Socialists, Agostinone, Galeno, Marangoni, Salvatori, Tonello and Zanzi; the Reformist, Celli; the Republican, Chiesa; the Radicals, Amella, Scialoia, Guarino and Caporali; the Liberal Democrats, Cuomo, Carboni Vincenzo, Buonocore, Pennisi and Corboniboj; the Progressives, Mancini and Siciliani; the Catholics or Popularists, Anile, Bazzoli, Conti, Martire and Piva; and the Liberal, Boselli, handed

in their report on the national school question to the Minister of Education, Benedetto Croce. The majority opinion called for a complete reconstruction of the educational system of the Peninsula on lines of industry and business and the abolition of all academic instruction—history, theology, literature and the arts—except that which could be made to give material and practical results in a business or scientific life.

#### THE VATICAN

On Jan. 28, the anniversary of the seventh centenary of the foundation of the Third Order of St. Francis of Assisi, Pope Benedict addressed an encyclical to all Bishops throughout the world. The principal themes were world peace and Christian reconciliation, as exemplified by the life of the saint.

It was officially announced on Feb. 3 that the coming secret Consistory would take place March 7 and the public Consistory three days later. As to the new Cardinals who would receive red hats on one or the other of these occasions, it was stated with authority, but not officially, as late as Feb. 13, that Archbishop Dougherty of Philadelphia would succeed to the next American Cardinalate; that Mgr. Nasci-Rocca would succeed the late Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan; that there would be one other Italian and one Spanish Cardinal appointed and that the two new German Cardinals, taking the place of those recently deceased, would be Mgr. Karl Joseph Schulte, Archbishop of Cologne, and Dr. Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich.

#### THE DEAD WHO LIE AT GALLIPOLI

SIXTEEN THOUSAND British and Dominion soldiers lie buried in Gallipoli Peninsula, but of this vast congregation of martyrs of a fruitless campaign only 6,000 have been identified, according to a statement of the officials who recently completed the work of registering the graves. The total casualties at Gallipoli were 115,000 killed, wounded and missing. The bodies of those who died where they fell have now

been gathered into some thirty-five cemeteries overlooking the sea. A labyrinth of trenches and dugouts still surrounds these lonely burying grounds. Sheep graze among the ruined vineyards and fig gardens. White ships pass slowly up and down the strait. From their decks observers will ever see on beach and hillside the white cemeteries that symbolize the sacrifice of those tragic months of 1915.

## THE INCREASING SPLIT IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE Socialist disunity resulting from the world-wide struggle between the moderate and extremist factions over the acceptance of the Twenty-one Points of the Moscow program—laid down by the Third International last August—has been recorded in detail in the last two issues of CURRENT HISTORY.

The chief additional development in the month ended Feb. 15, 1920, was the splitting of the Italian Socialist Party into two warring factions on Jan. 21 at the national convention in Leghorn. On the previous night the 3,000 delegates had voted, 112,241 to 58,900, against adherence to the Lenin program; this action was due largely to resentment against a message that had come from Moscow, signed by Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik chiefs, calling for the excommunication of the moderate Italian Socialist leaders and the formation of a Communist Party that should be completely subservient to the Third International's Executive Committee. When the result was announced officially next morning, the Communist group, headed by Amadeo Bordiga, marched out of the hall to a theatre and organized the Communist Party of Italy, which will be recognized by Moscow as the Italian section of the Third International. The new party's Executive Committee includes Bordiga, Bombacci, Graziadei and Terracini, the latter a wealthy young man who recently joined the ranks of the extremists.

The regular Socialists continued their convention, elected an Executive Committee composed of Deputy Serrati, editor of *l'Avanti*; Turati, Baratono, Bacci and Paasigli, and made plans for resuming the work of organization so seriously interrupted during the preceding months by disputes over the Twenty-one Points. The regulars have retained control of most of the party papers and property, and the great majority of the 156 Socialist Deputies in the Chamber remained in the old party, which, before the split, had 216,327 dues-paying members, and controlled more than a score

of the principal cities through its representatives in the Municipal Councils.

At a convention of the Social Democratic Party of little Luxembourg, ninety-seven delegates voted for acceptance of the Twenty-one Points, with reservations; so twenty-one delegates who favored complete submission to Moscow left the convention and organized the Communist Party of Luxembourg.

Only thirteen of the 150 delegates to a convention of the Lettish Social Democratic Party voted for unconditional acceptance of the Twenty-one Points.

Reports from Warsaw received in Berlin said that the Central Committee of the Bund (the organization of the Jewish Socialists in Poland and Galicia) had refused to accept the Moscow conditions.

By a referendum vote of 25,324 to 8,723, the membership of the Swiss Social Democratic Party ratified the action of the December convention in refusing to accept the Twenty-one Points.

At its January convention the Scottish division of the Independent Labor party of Great Britain voted, 93 to 57, against affiliating with the Third International, reversing its action of the year before, when it had voted for complete agreement with the tenets of the Moscow body. On Jan. 29, at a secret meeting held in Leeds, the three main groups of British Communists were amalgamated into the Communist Party of Great Britain, according to a report printed in *The London Daily Herald*.

A meeting of representatives of extreme Australian labor agitators, held in Sydney, named an Executive Committee to draw up a constitution for the Communist Party of Australia, now in process of organization. Both the Australian Labor Party and the Socialist Labor Party have come out against the new party.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America voted, 6 to 1, against sending a delegate to the Vienna Convention, due to begin Feb. 22, for the purpose of organizing a Fourth Interna-

tional, and decided to adopt a policy of "watchful waiting," at least until the next convention of the American Socialists, which is to be held within a few months. In the meantime, the Slavic Federation, with about 500 members, withdrew from the Socialist Party because of the latter's

refusal to swallow the Twenty-one Points. The general result of the cleavage forced by the Moscow extremists has been to show that only a minority of Socialists in other countries are willing to accept the dictatorship of the Lenin group and adopt its program of violence.

## ALLIED AGREEMENT ON THE GERMAN INDEMNITY

*Interallied Council in Paris fixes the sum Germany must pay at 260,000,000,000 francs, with a time limit of 42 years, and adds a 12 per cent. tax on all German exports—Germany unanimous for rejection of these terms—Preparation of counter-proposals*

THE German Kaiser thought, in 1917, that after Germany won the war she should compel the Allies to pay an indemnity of 500,000,000,000 gold marks. He laid this proposal before the Reichstag in a Government speech. It won enthusiastic applause. At the end of January, 1921, the Interallied Council in Paris fixed the amount of indemnity Germany must pay at 226,000,000,000 gold marks—a sum considerably less than half that which Germany once expected to demand of the Allies. The announcement of this figure, however, was greeted with cries of rage; the German people, press and Government, almost unanimously, were for refusing the allied terms point blank; the Government at first said it would not send delegates to the London Conference, scheduled for Feb. 28, to discuss the subject; later, it reconsidered this, but declared that the delegates it would send would go only to lay counterproposals before the allied representatives, not to accept without discussion, as the allied Premiers demanded, the "impossible" conditions which they had imposed.

The Allied Conference had opened in Paris on Jan. 24. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, and Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, arrived the day before. The one great question which they had come to discuss with Premier Briand of France was the amount of indemnity that should be exacted from Germany for the damage she had done through the war. First, however, they discussed Germany's

disarmament. Military experts were heard, including Marshal Foch, and their detailed testimony regarding Germany's failure to fulfill the disarmament conditions of the Versailles Treaty was carefully considered. On Jan. 25 the problem of what should be done to help Austria, now in a desperate financial and economic position, was thoroughly discussed. While these debates continued, Lloyd George and Premier Briand were striving at private sessions to adjust their views on indemnity, regarding which they were very far apart.

### FRANCE'S LARGE DEMANDS

The indemnity discussion began with a clash on Jan. 26. France stood for a total of 400,000,000,000 marks in gold. The sum demanded for France alone by M. Doumer, the Minister of Finance, was 112,000,000,000 gold marks. Calculating France's share at 55 per cent. of the total, the sum for all the Allies would be about 200,000,000,000 gold marks, and the interest payments in the end would more than double this sum.

Lloyd George immediately objected. How could Germany pay this colossal sum? he demanded. M. Doumer replied that it could be done through German exports. These he estimated at 17,000,000,000 gold marks yearly. Germany, he declared, should pay over to the Allies annually twelve out of these seventeen billions, keeping five billions for herself. Lloyd George objected that this would mean taking from Germany the

power to import raw materials, without which she could not continue her exports. M. Doumer took issue with him. On the one side stood the British statesmen, supported by the Italians, seeking a practicable solution; on the other side stood the French, filled with suspicion and fear of Germany's intention to defraud while planning a new aggression. The problem of reconciling the conflicting interests seemed almost hopeless.

#### MILLERAND INTERVENES

At the session of Jan. 27 M. Millerand, the French President, seeing that a deadlock was imminent, intervened personally. As a result, M. Doumer's demands, which had strained the relations between the French and British delegations to the breaking point, were thrown aside, and the plan formulated at the Boulogne Conference in July, 1920, was adopted as a basis of discussion. This plan provided for a payment of 100,000,000,000 gold marks, and for a total payment—including interest—of not more than 250,000,000,000 marks.

The French President's intervention had been dramatic. At 9 o'clock in the morning he called Premier Briand to the Elysée Palace, and told him that M. Doumer's scheme would not do, and that it was better for France to accept less and avoid a break in the alliance with England—a contingency which M. Millerand, from the time he took office, has refused even to consider. Briand at once got into touch with Lloyd George, and the morning session was suspended while the Premiers conferred.

The conference was reopened at 4 in the afternoon, when Lloyd George made an impressive speech. There was no dispute, he said, over the view that Germany must pay to the utmost, and that the Allies must stand together. The interests of France and Great Britain, whatever might be said, were identical. Great Britain was to receive 22 per cent. of the indemnity. Of all the Allies, France stood first in human sacrifices, in human sufferings and in material loss. But Great Britain had borne the heaviest financial burden. Her naval and military effort had cost her £10,000,000,000. Germany must be made to pay. But how? The only dispute between the Allies was over the question of method. He repeated his argument regarding ex-

ports, and summed up the various other proposals made, adding:

I am willing that these proposals be criticised, and, if possible, improved. I am willing to consider new proposals, but I strongly deprecate any fresh adjournment. The Allies and the whole world need a definite settlement. A speedy settlement within limits is more important today than an ideal settlement. Therefore real progress is essential. We have got to get somewhere.

#### FINAL AGREEMENT REACHED

Agreement was finally reached by the Premiers at the session of Jan. 28. It was a compromise on both sides. M. Briand long stood out for the policy, approved by the French Senate, of not fixing any definite sum at present, and of arranging a series of payments adjustable on a sliding scale, as Germany's recovery proceeded. Failing this, he demanded more for France than Lloyd George was willing to consider. The British Premier held to the Boulogne plan. A tentative agreement reached at this session was confirmed the following day. France accepted a compromise sum even lower than that provided by the Boulogne plan, but got her 12 per cent. on German exports. The details of the decision were briefly as follows:

Germany to pay the Allies within a period of forty-two years the sum of 226,000,000,000, or its equivalent, on the following scale: 2,000,000,000 marks annually in 1921 and 1922, 3,000,000,000 marks annually in 1923, 1924 and 1925, 4,000,000,000 marks annually in 1926, 1927 and 1928, 5,000,000,000 marks annually in 1929, 1930 and 1931, and 6,000,-000,000 marks annually from 1932 to 1962. Secondly, Germany to pay for forty-two years an annual tax of 12 per cent. upon the total of her exports, such tax to be computed biannually. Thirdly, Germany to revise her interior fiscal system, to balance her budget, to curtail the issue of paper money, to increase her taxes generally, to raise the imposts upon alcohol and tobacco and to increase her railroad fares and postal rates. Fourthly, in the event that Germany should not fulfill these conditions, the Allies to have the right to seize the German customs, to impose taxes on the Rhineland, to exercise financial control over Germany and to impose military penalties.

It was also decided by the allied Premiers that the conversations between the allied and German reparations experts at Brussels should be resumed on Feb. 27, on the basis of the Paris agreement. The German Ministers were invited to come the following

day to London to meet the allied Ministers. A note was at once dispatched to the German Government notifying it of the indemnity and other decisions taken, demanding prompt compliance, and transmittal of notes to cover the first payments. One point not overlooked, but discounted, was that the new plan required the consent of the Germans, inasmuch as the Versailles Treaty had set a term of only thirty years for the complete payment, and especially as the 12 per cent. tax on exports would run for twelve years after the Versailles term.

#### GERMANY'S REFUSAL

The German Cabinet discussed the Entente's notes in two sessions on Jan. 31. The predominant sentiment was that the terms must be rejected. The session of the Reichstag held on Feb. 1 was stormy. Foreign Minister Simons told a House crowded to the doors that the Cabinet had empowered him to reply with a refusal, but had agreed that Germany should send her delegates to the London Conference bearing new German proposals. In this policy he was enthusiastically supported by the majority of the Reichstag. The German press, Nationalist and otherwise, raged and fulminated. It was not until Feb. 8 that the German Gov-

ernment sent to Premier Briand, as President of the Allied Council, its formal consent to attend the London Conference. Its consent, however, was given "on the supposition that negotiations will take place also on propositions the German Government intends to present to the conference." Even this noncommittal mode of acceptance did not please the German extremists, who denounced the use of the word "also," declaring that this was equivalent to an admission that the German representatives would consent to a discussion of the allied terms, which, according to them, should be rejected unconditionally and without discussion.

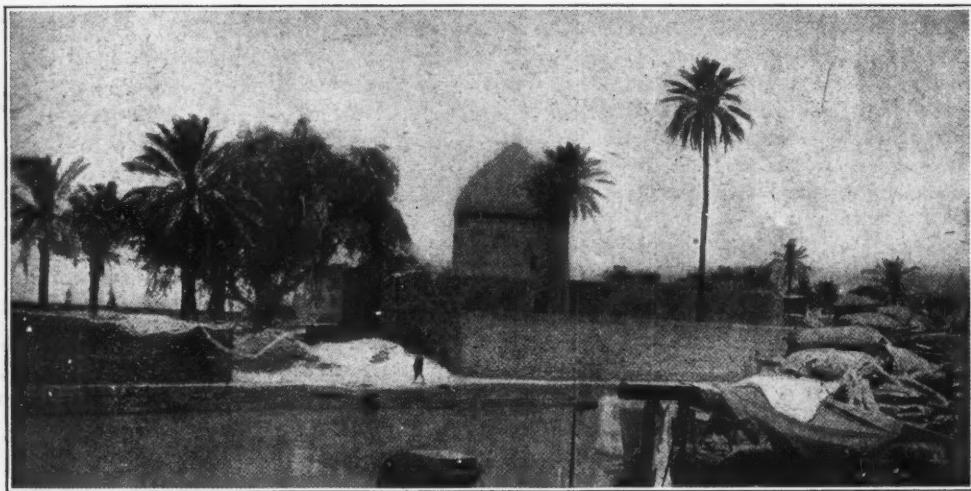
The French Government, meanwhile, had its own difficulties, and bitter attacks made upon Premier Briand in the French Chamber on this date presaged the Premier's speedy fall if he did not succeed in winning for France at the coming conference all that the French extremists, headed by former President Poincaré and his principal supporter, André Tardieu, believed France must receive. Grimly the allied and German Governments waited for the end of February, and prepared themselves for the coming struggle in the British capital.

## HARDSHIPS OF RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS

WHILE traveling on a train from Petrograd to Moscow, recently, Michael Farbman, a correspondent of The Manchester Guardian, talked with the Director of the Moscow Physical Institute on the hardships of Russian scientists under Soviet rule. In the terrible years of the war and of the allied blockade that followed the coming of Bolshevik power, the savant, death had taken a heavy toll of Russian scientists; they had received only starvation rations from the Government—scarcely enough to preserve life—and had been compelled, while working in their laboratories, to fight against darkness, cold and hunger. Some of their greatest men, including Professors Inostrantsev, Lappo-Danilevsky and Schachmatov, had succumbed.

There has been a change for the better, however, said the Director; Russian science has now become of great practical use to the Soviet régime, and this fact has brought it into close connection with the country's

economic problems. The Government, therefore, has changed its attitude, and has founded a House of Science, with branches in Moscow, Ekaterinburg, Tashkent and other places. This chain of institutions has brought relief to the perishing scientists, some 4,000 of whom are now being well fed and cared for, with the result that the survivors are filled with a new desire for achievement. The Government is especially keen on the development of electric power; a frenzy of practical research, said the Moscow Director, also has brought to light new resources in fuel, fertilizers, &c. Russian scientists, however, are still handicapped by being cut off from knowledge of scientific progress in the outside world. Fourteen British scientists issued an appeal early in January for funds to purchase the necessary books to send to these fellow-laborers of Russia, who have fallen hopelessly behind in technical lines and in matters of theoretical research.



THE DOMED TOMB OF EZRA, THE JEWISH PROPHET, SET IN A CLUMP OF PALM TREES  
ON THE TIGRIS RIVER

## MESOPOTAMIA—THE CRADLE OF MANKIND

*By LEON RAY*

Formerly of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force

*An eyewitness description of the peoples, customs, and ancient cities of the seat of the oldest civilization in the world, with a glance at its resources as known today*

**N**O country, not even Egypt, has made a deeper mark on the history of the ancient world than Mesopotamia. This name calls up the memory of the remotest past known to human history. Mesopotamia has been referred to as the "birthplace of man," as the "cradle of civilization." Yet the general public knows but little of this mysterious Eastern land beyond the fact that it is now occupied and administered by Great Britain under a mandate from the League of Nations.

To the biblical student, antiquarian, or student of history, Mesopotamia is a land of surpassing interest. Empire after empire—the Chaldean, Babylonian and Assyrian—rose, flourished and perished there, and some of the most decisive battles of the world's history were fought on this historic ground. To the Jew and Christian, as well as to the Mohammedan, it is a sacred spot, and all alike have holy places in this land.

Mesopotamia, broadly speaking, may be

divided into the upper and lower sections; the upper lies north of Bagdad, the lower extends from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf. The two sections differ greatly in their main features. The transition from the elevated plateau to the alluvial plains is remarkable; the hilly, wooded districts in the north are succeeded by grassy steppes or by arid wastes which, when water abounds, are converted into highly productive oases.

Below Bagdad the tract from this point to the Persian Gulf was ancient Babylonia—now known as the Province of Irak—an exceedingly fertile alluvial country, drained by the Tigris and Euphrates, which, running parallel through the heart of it, unite at a point about a hundred miles from the sea, the confluence being thereafter known as the Shatt-el-Arab (Arabian River). Throughout this territory the soil is found to consist of sandy clay, rich in agricultural properties, and it is everywhere capable



ARABS CROSSING THE TIGRIS IN ONE OF THEIR CURIOUS ROUND BOATS, WHICH HAVE BEEN USED BY THEM FOR AGES

of cultivation except where water fails. This was the richest land in the world, the granary of the ancients. Its astounding fertility is shown by the fact that after having supported the teeming populations of succeeding empires, from the dawn of history down to comparatively recent times, the soil is still prolific, its potentialities unexhausted. The ruins scattered over the region, from Babylon to Nineveh in the north, still bear witness to its former flourishing condition, and we also know that the Mesopotamian plains have been the scene of successive cultures, in splendor and antiquity rivaled only by those of the Nile Valley.

Summer is intensely dry throughout the plains, but in Upper Mesopotamia abundant rain falls from December to March. In the south, however, the rainfall is slight and much below the average. The vegetation, therefore, depends largely on artificial irrigation, which has been practiced from the remotest times, and in a manner which still excites the admiration of experts. The mild but short Winters are the pleasantest part of the year; they are succeeded by sultry Summer, during which the plains become scorched and bare, and for two or three months the heat is almost unbearable.

The inhabitants of Mesopotamia are chiefly Arabs, who migrate from the Arabian deserts. Some of them settled here in

remote times; others came at a later period. In fact, Mesopotamia may be called a land of tribal confederations. These tribes lead a nomadic life and occupy the whole of the alluvial region between the Tigris and Euphrates, wandering over the desert with their flocks and herds.

#### A TRIBAL LAND

The desert is the home of these roving tribes, who are called Bedouins. They live in black tents and in Summer draw in near the walls of some city (the desert is barren at this time of the year), to shelter themselves from the fierce heat. After the rains they drive their countless flocks and herds back to the grazing grounds, and roam, at the bidding of their herds, wherever even a scanty promise of pastureage is given. They occasionally come into the markets for trade, and small market towns have grown up on the edges of the desert to supply their necessities.

These nomad tribes today differ but slightly from what they were many centuries ago; still ignorant of the world outside of their sands and pasturages, they are ruled by old tribal laws and customs. Hostility to one another being their guiding principle, raid and counter-raid and tribal blood-feuds continue to be a terrible scourge among them.

### THE "MA'DAN"

A few of the tribes, however, have settled on tracts of land bordering the rivers and canals. They live in reed huts, travel in canoes, breed buffaloes, and by means of artificial irrigation cultivate the land, raising large crops of rice and grain. Many of these "settlers" revert to a nomadic existence after the rains, and drive their flocks out to the distant grazing grounds, where they remain until the grass has withered and the water pools have dried up. During the height of Summer they in turn extend hospitality to their neighbors of the desert, who migrate to the permanent pasturages near the rivers.

Then there are the town dwellers, merchants, land owners, shopkeepers and boatmen. The farmers are mostly tenants of the property owners who live in the cities.

All Arabs living outside the towns may be divided roughly into two great classes—Bedouins and "Ma'dan." The Bedouin despises the Ma'dan, who have lost caste with their brothers in the wilderness, and the Bedouins will not give their daughters in marriage to these tribes, nor take wives from among them. "Ma'dan" is a loose term applying generally to the social level below that of the speaker. To the Bedouin all the riverside people are alike Ma'dan; on the lips of the cultivators the description refers to the buffalo owners and fishermen of the marsh; etymologically it means no more than the dwellers in the "Adan" or plain.\*

But, although these tillers of the earth, shepherds and herdsmen of buffaloes have lost caste with the true Bedouin, they are, nevertheless, of the same blood and tradition, and not infrequently scions of very ancient and famous Arabian tribes are present among these cultivators, who by force of circumstances are obliged to look to agriculture as a means of livelihood.

### COSTUME, LANGUAGE, RELIGION

Most Arabs wear a headdress consisting of a large red or blue handkerchief, folded diagonally and held in place by a coil of camel's hair or wool. Their clothing con-

sists of a long, white garment, held up by a belt. Over this the richer Arabs wear a tunic of rather finer material, sometimes silk, and over this again is worn the cloak or "aba." A man's standing can generally be known by the grade of his "aba." A large number of Persians who speak both Arabic and Persian also live in the country, of whom the majority were born in Mesopotamia. Arabic, of course, is the language of the country. The better class of Persians dress in modern style with a black cap. The merchants wear a white skullcap, with a small turban of yellow figured silk. The lower classes are recognized by their tall felt caps, baggy trousers, and a piece of cloth bound around the waist.

All Arabs and Persians are Mohammedans, but, like the rest of Islam, they are divided into two principal sects—the Sunni and the Shiah—the Sunni being usually regarded as the orthodox sect. The origin of this, the greatest schism in Islam, goes back to the earliest days of the faith, when, after the death of Mohammed, the question of succession to the Caliphate arose. One sect adhered to the descendants of Ali and Fatima, the prophet's favorite daughter; the other supported the claims of Abu Bekr, father-in-law of Mohammed, and the schism has continued through the centuries.

### SHIAH AND SUNNI

Persia is the home of Shiahism, the cult of the followers of Ali and Fatima, although its birthplace was in the Province of Irak. In Mesopotamia, however, owing to the proximity of Persia, the existence of the two most holy shrines of the Shiah sect, and the constant influx of pilgrims, the persuasive force of Persian influence has been so strong on the local conditions that tribal immigrants from the heart of Sunni Arabia have, almost without exception, become Shias. The whole population of the Province of Irak, from the head of the Persian Gulf up to Bagdad, is almost entirely Shiah, that is to say, more than 90 per cent. of the inhabitants belong to that sect. But notwithstanding this disproportion in the numbers of the two sects—Turkey being Sunni—the Shias never had any political status in the country.

There has been very little bitterness or ill feeling between the two sects in this country, owing, partly to the fact, perhaps,

\*The word Eden itself is the ordinary term for a plain in the Sumerian speech—the oldest language existing in this region—and so the Garden of Eden simply meant the Garden of the Plain, which by a confusion of ideas has become to our tongue a synonym of Paradise.



WATER BUFFALOES ENJOYING THEMSELVES IN A SWAMP ALONG THE TIGRIS, SOUTH OF KUT-EL-AMARA, WHERE THEIR BEDOUIN OWNERS HAVE TEMPORARILY ENCAMPED

that the Arab is the least fanatical of all Moslems, and also to the sincerity of his belief, combined with the natural dignity and frankness peculiar to the Arab Moslem. His general bearing is greatly preferable to that of most other Asiatic Mohammedans.

And it must not be forgotten that there was no persecution of the Armenians in the Arab provinces, and although individual cases of violent feeling occur, just as a few wild tribes may be stirred by the cry of holy war, there is no Arab town or district in which Moslems and Christians do not live at peace, if not in friendship. Although it is true that in Damascus the Turks sold Armenian girls in the open market, the handful of girls who found their way down from the north to Bagdad were taken into Moslem houses and kindly treated, and in many cases they refused offers of provisions that were made to them by allied and American relief organizations.

Nearly all the large towns in Mesopotamia are situated on the banks of the two

rivers, principally the Tigris, but only a few need be mentioned. Mosul, far north, in the heart of ancient Assyria—although we found it a somewhat poverty-stricken and decaying settlement—was in past times a very flourishing town, noted for its fine cotton fabrics, first known as "muslins." It must always remain a hallowed spot in the eyes of antiquarians owing to its proximity to the ruins of Nineveh, on which it partly stands. Below Mosul the date palm begins to make its appearance. This plant forms the prevailing feature of the landscape throughout the alluvial plains from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, and some of the finest dates in the world are produced here.

The vastness of the ruins of Nineveh may be judged from the fact that they cover a space about eighteen miles in length on the Tigris, and extend nearly twelve miles from its left bank, thus occupying an area of over 200 square miles. They have been very successfully explored. Here Layard discovered the colossal winged bulls,

lions with human heads, and winged sphinxes which had been placed as guardians to the royal palaces, but are objects of wonder and admiration in the British Museum today. All the principal museums of the world have been enriched with priceless treasures brought from this place, and although Nineveh was the centre of a culture of great antiquity, there is evidence to show that it is quite modern as compared with the civilization which preceded it—a civilization perhaps unrivaled in all ancient times. Unfortunately, the inrush of underground waters has made further excavation here impossible.

#### POPULATION OF BAGDAD

About 200 miles below Mosul is the famous City of Bagdad, situated in what was once one of the richest and most productive regions of the world. This city for 500 years was the most brilliant capital of the Moslem world. At present its population is about 150,000, and of a very motley character—Mohammedans of various races, Jews, Nestorians, Chaldeans, Latin Christians, Armenians and Syrians. Before the war a large European colony was established there, with a fine hospital, a French missionary school and also a Jewish high school.

The Chaldeans are remnants of the original dwellers of Lower Mesopotamia, who became Christians in the early ages, and at the time of the Moslem conquest never renounced their faith. They are Roman Catholics, but have a liturgy of their own. As a race they are fair skinned; they wear a handkerchief twisted about their heads and baggy trousers, with a tight belt.

The Armenians are descendants of those who have migrated from Armenia. Some of them are Roman Catholics, but the majority are members of the Gregorian Church. The Jews number about 40,000 in Bagdad,

and are the remnants of the Babylonian captivity. They are practically all traders, and some of the richest merchants in the country belong to that community. The Jew can generally be distinguished by the bright red fez, frequently accompanied by a light aba, coat and tunic, though many wear modern clothes.

Far down the river below Bagdad, on the right bank, is disclosed the domed tomb of Ezra, the Jewish prophet, set in a clump of palm trees, a spot much venerated by the Jews of the country. It was by these same waters, we are told, that the exiled captives from the Jewish hill country across the desert "sat down and wept" over the fall and desolation of Zion, and we see their descendants here to this day.

#### THE RUINS OF BABYLON

About 100 miles south of Bagdad, on the left of the Euphrates, are the ruins of Babylon, scattered over a wide tract of the country, the deadliest of all dead things in this Mesopotamian waste. Incidentally, it might be remarked that German archaeolo-



TYPICAL SUMMER SCENE IN THE DESERT REGION OF MESOPOTAMIA, WHERE THE WANDERING BEDOUINS TAKE REFUGE NEAR THE WALLS OF A CITY UNTIL THE DRY SEASON IS OVER

gists were the last excavators here. They came with a force of about 200 workmen—engaged for several years—who remained until the Summer of 1914, when apparently they went on strike and never returned. The greater part of the city which has recently been brought to light belongs to the comparatively modern period of Nebuchadnezzar, about 600 years B. C., but traces of the first Babylonian Kings (2500 B. C.) are left in the ruins, and successive strata reveal the streets and houses built by succeeding dynasties of the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Persian and Graeco-Parthian periods. Also there are relics to prove a prehistoric Babylon, but, as in the case of Nineveh, it is impossible to carry excavation down deep enough, owing to the rise of the water level.

The city, when rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, formed one of the greatest and most magnificent cities the world has ever seen. Ancient historians can find no words to describe the grandeur of the palaces, the splendid edifices, large gardens and pleasure grounds, especially the hanging gar-

dens, a sort of lofty terraced structure supporting earth enough to grow trees.

#### PORT OF SINDBAD THE SAILOR

Basra, on the right bank of the Shatt-el-Arab, sixty-seven miles from the sea, has been a very important city for many centuries, being well situated for trade. It has a mixed population of about 60,000, with some of the characteristics of Bagdad, and many of the most important merchants are to be found here. Besides the French mission, there is also a number of intelligent school, and quite a number of intelligent boys of different races are sent out from these seminaries every year with a fair knowledge of French and English.

Basra is the modern name for the old Balsorah, identified with Sindbad the Sailor, of "Arabian Nights" fame. In the tales we are told how Sindbad would set out from his home at Bagdad by camel or horseback for the great port of Balsorah, and embark for the mysterious isles of the Persian Gulf.

No description of the peoples of Mesopotamia would be complete without a mention of the Sabeans, or Star Worshipers, as they are called. Their religion is an odd mixture of Babylonian paganism, Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism. At the beginning of the war the Sabeans were taken into the army by the Turks, but were again excused because of the utter impossibility of meeting their religious demand to be always near running water.

The two occupations in which they most excel are boat building and silver work. Their exquisite work in the latter art is much sought after. It consists of black and silver wrought in cunning designs. The composition of this black substance, supposed to be antimony, is a secret of their trade. Of late years Arabs have been more tolerant toward these people because of their ability as



A MESOPOTAMIAN PEASANT MOTHER AND HER FAMILY ON THE DOORSTEP OF THEIR HOME

smiths and boat builders, in neither of which occupations the Arab has any skill. They never cut their hair nor shave, but the men and women are decidedly handsome. About two centuries ago, it is said, they numbered 20,000 families, but their numbers are dwindling fast and today their total does not exceed 3,000 souls.

In short, then, Mesopotamia is inhabited chiefly by Arab nomad tribes, and the alluvial plain from Bagdad down to the head of the Persian Gulf, the home of many of these tribes, is a land of astonishing fertility, and water—which, owing to the meagre rainfall in the past, is scarce—is the only essential to make it one of the richest and most productive regions in the world. The land in past times was the granary of ancient empires, and was irrigated in a way which, as before stated, still stirs the admiration of experts. Nebuchadnezzar's vast irrigation system can be easily traced for miles about Bagdad.

The Greek historian, Herodotus, when he visited Mesopotamia 2,350 years ago, said he found it a forest of verdure from end to end, the like of which was not to be found anywhere else in the world. However that may be, centuries of misrule and neglect have made it the barren wilderness we now see it.

#### HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

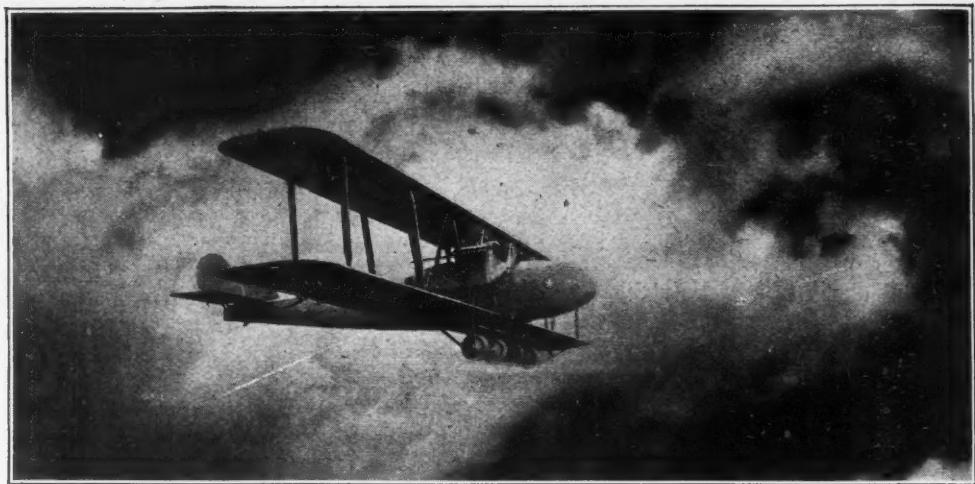
With the development of railways and modern scientific methods of irrigation, however, Mesopotamia may again become one of the richest grain-producing countries in the world. It is as fertile today as when it was the birthplace of human history, and only well-directed work is needed to bring back the ancient productivity. Already something has been done in a small way. Several thousand acres of rich land have been brought back into cultivation in the Eu-

phrates Valley alone, and when I visited this region in 1918 I was told that a greater crop had been produced than any since the days of Nebuchadnezzar.

Doubtless it is an immense task and will take a long time. The transition from a nomadic to a settled life is always a slow process, though we may readily believe that, with the progress of development, the native quickness and adaptability of the Arab will make him readily adopt new conditions and profit by the unexpected opportunities of peaceful and profitable work. This will check the wandering tendencies of the tribes. The process will be gradual, and we must expect Mesopotamia to present the same characteristics as we see today for a long time to come.

But a new era has dawned, and, although we are told affairs are somewhat complicated at present, settled conditions will no doubt prevail under a new government—whatever form it may take—and some headway will be made. There can be no doubt that a Mesopotamia reconstituted by good administration offers not only abundant means of livelihood, but far-reaching possibilities of social and intellectual advance. No one who has seen this interesting land and mingled with its people can do otherwise than hope that under the new conditions its wilderness may be made once more to blossom like the rose.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The British Government is being pressed by English taxpayers at home to withdraw from Mesopotamia and Palestine because of the expense. Up to last August it was estimated that £100,000,000 had been spent upon Mesopotamia alone since the armistice. The Daily Express of London declared on Jan. 25 that Great Britain's only return for this enormous expenditure was a revolt, which had made an army of 100,000 men necessary and which had raised the cost of occupation to £50,000,000 a year. It was announced at that time that the Government was contemplating the withdrawal of all troops to Basra, and that by the end of March the British force in Mesopotamia would be down to 70,000.



A GLENN S. MARTIN PLANE CARRYING MAIL BETWEEN NEW YORK AND CLEVELAND

## A YEAR'S PROGRESS IN AVIATION

By CUTHBERT HICKS

Late of the British Royal Air Force

*A birdseye view of the wonderful advance made in aviation by the larger European countries and an explanation of why they are outstripping the United States today*

TAKING into account the financial problems of reconstruction and the inevitable slowing up of industries that had blossomed during the war, aviation, the youngest of the practical sciences, has made very considerable strides. It was not until the beginning of 1920 that any real progress in civil aviation began to be evident. It has taken a long time to produce the true commercial machine, both for passenger and freight carrying, and firms that tried—in various countries—to convert war craft for civil purposes were forced to abandon the effort, remodel the machine completely, and rearrange the engine power. Now that this has been done, the practical utility of aircraft has been demonstrated in every civilized country, and though the general public may not yet have become sufficiently acquainted with the improved machines to gain complete confidence, yet there is every evidence that the use of aircraft is becoming more widespread and more regular.

It is a matter of great regret that

America, the country that gave birth to aviation, is, except in one respect, far behind all European countries in the development of practical flying. One would have thought that, as the American aircraft industry had at the close of hostilities got into full swing and had mastered the technique and the problems of turning out aircraft in great numbers, there would have been throughout the continent a network of freight and passenger services. In a country like America, where great distances must be traversed, where train services are often inadequate in linking up big cities, where time-saving devices are perhaps more important than in other countries, it is astonishing that enterprise has been so lacking. There are practically no regular passenger air services in this country, either by lighter-than-air or heavier-than-air craft; but, on the other hand, it is to America's credit that she has established the finest aerial mail service in the world in its percentage of regularity. I think the reason why the development of aircraft has lagged

in America since the armistice can be found in the fact that every other country has deemed it expedient to establish an Air Ministry, in which naval, military and civil aviation is centralized. When it is considered that there are no laws of the air in America; that there is no licensing of pilots, of machines, or of aerodromes; that there has been no money for the development of landing grounds; that there has been no form of subsidy granted toward keeping the remnants of the aircraft industry in being, it is not remarkable that aviation has suffered a slump. The lack of any Government initiative and the fact that there is no Government inspection of machines, no registering of pilots, has tended to make the American public chary of flying. A large number of totally unnecessary and preventable accidents occurred last year directly from these causes.

A well-built, modern aircraft is a perfectly safe vehicle, provided it is looked after properly and driven by safe hands. It is this fact that it is necessary to impress again and again upon the public, but confidence will never come until definite proof of safety and regularity has been given on approved routes over a considerable period of time. It is to this end that the Government should bend its efforts if the aircraft industry of this country is to be saved at all, for the industry cannot live on orders from the army and navy alone. The first essential, given the establishment of an Air Ministry, is the retention by aircraft constructors of a sound nucleus of designing staffs. Unless this is done, and done soon, development of aircraft must suffer.

#### IN THE UNITED STATES

A survey of the progress of commercial aviation in 1920 may justly begin with the United States. The year was marked by two wonderfully successful flights, which speak volumes for the organization that attended them. The first was that of Commander Reid of transatlantic fame, who flew the old NC-4 in an expedition from Rockaway, L. I., down the Atlantic Coast, along the Gulf Coast and up the Mississippi River to Cairo, Illinois, and returned without mishap or engine trouble, having flown 7,740 miles. The second was the flight of

four remodeled D. H. war planes, each with single Liberty motors, which flew from Long Island to Nome, Alaska, and returned, covering a total distance of 9,000 miles in 112 hours of flying time, quite one of the most remarkable flights ever made anywhere. This latter flight was a superb advertisement for the reliability of the Liberty engine and for the durability of the remodeled De Haviland machine.

The unique air mail service operating between New York and Washington, and between New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Omaha, Salt Lake City and San Francisco, transported nearly 100,000,000 letters at the ordinary rates of postage. This service attained the highest average of regularity of any air service in the world, and was, according to the figures, financially successful, although one wonders what allowance has been made for depreciation of the machines. Mail services were also established from Key West to Havana, and from Seattle, Wash., to Victoria, B. C. Early in December the air mail between New York and Chicago accomplished a new record by flying the distance in 5 hours and 56 minutes, carrying 16,000 letters.

Other American records of 1920 include Major Schroeder's world's altitude record of 33,000 feet and Mr. Rohlfe's seaplane speed record of 138 miles an hour over a measured course. A speed of 178 miles an hour was claimed for the winner of the Pulitzer Trophy on Thanksgiving Day, but at the time of writing this has not yet been officially corroborated.

It becomes necessary to record the extraordinarily shortsighted action of Congress in failing to appropriate the necessary funds for the continuance of the air mail service. This service, as I have said, has exceeded in efficiency that of any other country and has demonstrated its usefulness beyond doubt, and also its economic value. To destroy it now is to undermine the whole development of aviation in this country, for the establishment of a nucleus of civil pilots is vital in military interests.

The Army Air Service appropriation for the year is \$19,200,000, for naval aviation \$6,913,431.

The development of rigid airships in Europe has naturally attracted the attention of the American air authorities. At



THE LATEST FOKKER PASSENGER AIRPLANE. THIS TYPE OF MACHINE IS A FAVORITE WITH DUTCH AVIATORS

the moment there is no rigid airship in America. The Navy Department, however, has one building and the Government has purchased from the British the R-38, a ship of larger dimensions than the famous R-34, which accomplished the double journey across the Atlantic, and it is announced that purchase has been completed of the Italian airship, the Roma, a semi-rigid of 34,000 cubic feet gas capacity.

#### IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The size of England itself limits the possibilities of internal flights; her chief efforts, therefore, have been directed toward perfecting communication with Europe and establishing aerial communication with her possessions overseas. During 1920 there were four daily services running from London to Paris, one from London to Brussels, and two from London to Amsterdam. According to the figures issued by the Department of Civil Aviation in London, there

were 58,479 flights in the seventeen months from May, 1919, when civil flying began, to Sept. 1, 1920. The mileage covered was 1,381,500; the number of passengers carried, 100,285. From August, 1919, to November, 1920, the value of goods imported into England by air was £685,054, and of those exported by the same means, £344,876. It is particularly noteworthy that during the period from the opening of civil flying to Sept. 1, 1920, 31,400 miles were flown for each accident that occurred, and in the whole of that period there were but seven accidents resulting in death, which shows incidentally that an airplane is infinitely safer than a taxi.

It is to the dirigible airship that Great Britain has to look for commercial air traffic of the future outside of her shores. The progress in airship development is second to nothing in importance, whether from the viewpoint of commerce, of imperial communications, or long distance journeys, or,



THE L. W. F. GIANT, AMERICA'S LARGEST BIPLANE, WHICH HAS A WING SPAN OF 106 FEET

if need be, of defense. It is good news, from the British point of view, and it is perhaps a lesson that is worth studying in America, that the control of airships in Great Britain is now handed over to the Department of Civil Aviation. The department's experimental enterprise is to begin early in the coming Spring. The airships that have been taken over by it are the R-36, R-37, and the two German dirigibles allotted to Great Britain under the peace terms, the L-71 and L-64. The R-36 will be fitted with a passenger saloon, and will be the first British airship to be so equipped. She is to be used for long-distance demonstration flights, and, should these be satisfactory, other ships will be fashioned after her design. The first long-distance route, so I am informed, will be from London to Cairo, and other routes are planned dependent upon the successes of the first experiments.

The British Air Ministry has announced that a grant of \$300,000 has been allotted for direct assistance in the form of subsidy for civil aviation. This will be made to British companies operating on approved aerial routes. The amounts will be calculated on a basis of 25 per cent. of the total ascertained gross revenue of each company earned by the carriage of passengers, mails and, or, goods. The payments will be allotted on the return for each period of three months, treated separately, provided that the company can show that on a minimum of forty-five days in each period of three months flights have been completed in both directions by aircraft of British manufacture, fitted with British-made engines, within a fixed maximum period of time allowed for each journey.

The British Air Council has also established a prize fund for improvement in design and performance of both commercial and military aircraft.

#### AVIATION IN FRANCE

The regulation of French flying is controlled by a Secretary for Aeronautics, whose stated ambition is to see France in three years' time at the head of the whole world in aerial transportation, developing lines all over the country and linking up with other nations in fast freight and passenger services.

In 1920 the estimates for aviation in France were nearly \$12,000,000, and M. Flandin, the Secretary for Aeronautics, is asking this year for nearly \$6,000,000 more than in 1920. There is a deep-rooted fear of German enterprise, and it is M. Flandin's view that Germany is definitely setting up to be the commercial air rival of France. To combat this possibility big grants are to be given to private enterprise, subsidies being voted to the existing lines between Paris and London, Brussels, Toulouse and Monaco, with extensions to Amsterdam, Strasbourg and Warsaw. Large hangars are being constructed so as to put into regular operation a service of airships between France and North Africa, and regular seaplane services between the South of France and Algiers are to be established. The French sphere of influence in Constantinople is also to be developed in this regard. French commercial airplanes in 1920 covered more than 93,000 miles, and only one person was injured for each 155,000 miles flown; only one was killed.

The French authorities were the first of those interested in air transportation to develop the subsidy scheme. In some of the services payment is made for the number of flights accomplished and for the number of letters carried, and there is no doubt that this direct Government recognition is largely responsible for the increasing number of air transport companies that are running in France as successful commercial ventures.

#### GERMANY'S EVASION OF THE TREATY TERMS

The progress of aviation in Germany during the last year was effected under extremely difficult conditions. There has been much impatience over the long delay of the Interallied Air Commission in removing the restrictions, and there is no doubt that in both commercial and military fields the Germans have their eyes upon the future. The Zeppelin works have been idle, but plans and specifications for new ships have been laid. Large airplane factories are ready to break into activity. Since February, 1920, there have been 6,208 flights, covering 625,000 miles, and carrying over 6,000 passengers and 500 tons of cargo. When the German railroads ceased operating because of serious strikes, great

use was made of the air services, but owing to the shortage of gasoline several of the regular services had to be suspended from time to time.

Several new transport and aerial manufacturing companies were formed. Liberal subsidies have been granted to manufacturing and passenger-carrying companies. Fifteen million marks were demanded for aerial activity of all kinds for the coming year.

It is unfortunate that in their zeal to establish themselves as a great air power the German authorities have evaded the terms of the Peace Treaty; as a result the Interallied Commission for the Control of Aviation in Germany has now formally prohibited the construction of airplanes and flying machines of every description. All construction or importation of aviation material is prohibited until three months after the date upon which the terms of the Treaty of Versailles shall have been complied with. In view of the fact that hidden airplane and aviation materials are still being discovered in various parts of Germany, it may be many months before the building or export of German aircraft is again permitted.

#### AVIATION IN HOLLAND

The Royal Dutch Aerial Transport Company, which holds a mail contract from the Dutch Government, works in conjunction with the Air Transport and Travel Company of Great Britain. It also has made an arrangement with a German company, by which air mails are dispatched to Berlin. The Dutch are interested in establishing air services in the Dutch East Indies, and any experiments they make will be helpful in relation to the India-Australia route. The British Government contract for mail to Holland, working in conjunction with the Royal Dutch Aerial Transport Company, has supported a service of two flights daily since July 12, 1920, and in this connection started on Sept. 1 a German service running on alternate days, with passengers, freight and mail, from Amsterdam to Hamburg and Copenhagen, connecting at Hamburg with the Berlin and Stockholm lines, thus establishing direct routes from London to Scandinavia.

In the latter part of the Summer the Dutch company used three new Fokker com-

mercial monoplanes, which carried a considerably bigger load than the machines previously used, and at rather lower running costs. The results of these services were satisfactory, and up to the end of October 584 journeys were carried out, covering a distance of 145,000 miles, without accident. In consequence, the Dutch company will this year operate the London-Amsterdam-Berlin services with its own machines and pilots, and passengers for Scandinavia will be transferred to the Danish and Swedish Transport Company's machines at Hamburg.

#### NEW WONDERS OF AIRCRAFT

The year 1920 afforded opportunity for inventors to develop certain ideas which were not possible of experiment during the strenuous days of wartime production. The aircraft departments of different Governments sifted the innumerable ideas that were put before them, some that were very simple of adaptation, others that were altogether revolutionary. Perhaps the most significant development in the heavier-than-air craft is the design which enables the wings of a machine to be varied in spread. By increasing the wing surface the speed is proportionately decreased, and it is obvious that a machine so fitted will be able to land at a slower speed with its full wing-spread, and, on taking the air, it can obtain a speed which it could not otherwise reach with a fixed spread. Developments on this line are proceeding in almost every country.

Other important developments are the placing of engines in the wings of the machine, and the placing of two engines in the fuselage driving two propellers in the wings, with the control of the engines in the hands of an engineman who receives his signals from the pilot in exactly the same way as an ordinary seagoing liner is controlled.

Many interesting experiments were made in 1920 with all-metal machines, it being claimed for them that they were less susceptible to weather conditions and avoided, therefore, the necessity for replacements; but the more prominent makes developed defects in heating systems, and until some means is discovered of preventing the metal from becoming overheated the all-metal machine is likely to be placed in the back-

ground as being too dangerous. Experiments are being made in many countries with the helicopter, but nothing practical has yet been evolved. It is fairly obvious that as aviation becomes more general a design that will enable a machine to hover and to descend in a very small space, much as a bird does, and to rise from that space, must be produced.

In America two remarkable aircraft for war purposes have been evolved. One is a sort of flying fort, which carries fifteen machine guns and one cannon, all of which are fired by electricity and synchronized. This machine is armored and has six engines, and it is expected to make a speed of nearly a hundred miles an hour. The other is a tiny craft which flies without a passenger. It carries a load of explosive. Its rudder is fixed so that it cannot turn, and it is sent up with a limited supply of gasoline, the idea being that it will be possible to fix the distance that this machine will travel, and that when it reaches the end of its fuel resources it will drop, with its load of explosive, upon the enemy.

There is also a machine now designed practically in the form of one huge wing, in which are not only the engines, but also

seating capacity for passengers; the chassis, or landing gear, is movable, and when the machine takes the air the chassis can be withdrawn into the wing. Another development is the amphibian, which has a boat form of body, capable of landing upon water, also a chassis which can be lowered for ground landings; British designers hope for great things from the development of this class. Inventors also are working on steam turbines for airplanes, automatic control, airship mooring masts and torpedo-carrying aircraft for use either on land or sea.

The use of wireless telegraphy and telephony has made great strides, so that, with proper equipment, a pilot can communicate constantly with land stations and keep advised as to his exact position in fog or darkness; passengers also can communicate by telephone with any place within radius. Another device to enable a safe landing in fog is an arm underneath the fuselage, which, on touching the ground, automatically moves the controls and causes the aircraft to flatten out for a safe landing. One might increase this list of technical developments to great length, particularly in the redesigning of planes and engines.

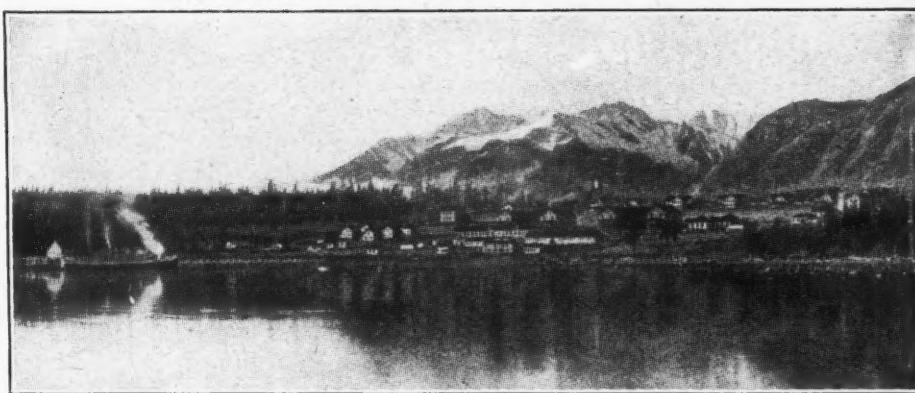
### THE SHRINE OF MEIJI

**A**MID the rejoicings of a great throng the spirits of the Emperor Meiji Tenno and his consort were installed in the great Shinto shrine near Tokio on Nov. 3, 1920. This shrine, completed after five years' labor at a cost of \$10,000,000, is one of the most elaborate Shinto memorials ever erected. As compared with other famous Japanese shrines, it represents the greatest simplicity, combined with the utmost dignity. Made of a special wood from the imperial forest reserves, it glows like gold in the deeply wooded park where it has been erected. There are four entrances to the park, at two of which are erected *torii* or Shinto arches, always a characteristic of the Japanese landscape.

For three days the Japanese capital was en fête. Half a million visitors swelled the city crowds which thronged the streets and watched the religious processions and

various entertainments. The dedication ceremonies of the third day were extremely impressive. The official rites were fulfilled, and the shrine finally thrown open at 1 o'clock in the day. For miles in all directions hundreds of thousands of people were moving toward it, while the area facing the chief entrance was packed with an immovable mass. An endless stream poured down the specially constructed avenue, a quarter of a mile in length. All classes were commingled, united by national love for the memory of the great Meiji.

It was Meiji Tenno who first threw Japan open to the benefits of Western civilization, and it is due to his measures and reforms that Japan today is a modern and progressive nation. A glorification of the former Emperor by Prince Yamagata was published in The London Times soon after the consecration of the shrine.



FORT WILLIAM H. SEWARD, ALASKA, AS SEEN FROM THE WHARF AT HAINES

## ALASKA'S PAST AND PRESENT

*By JOHN H. COBB*

First Territorial Counsellor of Alaska, now an influential resident of Juneau

*Mr. Cobb tells in this article some of the reasons why Alaska, which produces more wealth than any other country in the world, is losing its white population. He describes the strange and heavy handicaps under which its people are forced to live and labor*

ALASKA was acquired by the United States fifty-four years ago. There are a number of conflicting stories as to the real causes that led to its sale by Russia and its purchase by the United States. What is certain is that the people of the United States and the men who negotiated the purchase had no conception of the value of the territory being acquired. This is abundantly clear from a study of the speech of Mr. Sumner in the Senate in support of the treaty, in which he emphasized the great value of the Island of Kodiak, declaring it to be alone worth the \$7,200,000 which the United States was to pay. No mention was made of the infinitely greater wealth locked in the hills of the adjacent mainland, to say nothing of the wealth of the great Valley of the Yukon. Time has proved, not that Kodiak was worth less than Mr. Sumner estimated, but that the purchase embraced reservoirs of wealth beyond the dreams of both Mr. Sumner and Mr. Seward, as well as of Baron Stoeckel, through whom the negotiations were conducted.

When the Russian authorities formally

delivered possession of the country, it was turned over to the War Department, and small garrisons were stationed at Sitka, Wrangel and old Fort Tongass. In July of the following year the customs laws were extended to the district, and the sealing industry was placed under supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury, who was also given authority to lease the Seal Islands, which were declared special reservations for Government purposes. Jurisdiction to punish offenses committed in the district was conferred upon the United States courts in California, Oregon and Washington, but no civil government was established, nor did any court have jurisdiction of civil causes. This military rule lasted ten years. Crime was effectively prevented and the scant population got along fairly well without any means of settling civil controversies. The Government at Washington seemed to have forgotten Alaska for all practical purposes. It was occupied with national affairs, and especially with the problems of reconstruction.

In June, 1877, the military authority was withdrawn, and no other authority was pro-

vided to take its place. The Collector of Customs and his deputies were the sole officers left in the district. So far as Government was concerned, Alaska was abandoned. For two years there was practical anarchy, kept in bounds only by the sober sense of the few inhabitants.

#### PERIL OF INDIAN MASSACRE

On two occasions during this period the people of Sitka owed their preservation from Indian massacre to the kind offices of a friendly Indian chief; for the Indians, seeing all semblance of authority withdrawn from the country, believed that the Government at Washington had finally abandoned it. The difficulty with the natives culminated in February, 1879, when they gathered at Sitka, then the principal settlement on the coast, for the purpose of wiping out the whites and retaking the country. When the small steamer California, the one vessel then plying Alaskan waters, reached Sitka on Feb. 8 of that year, it found the town in a state of siege. The steamer sailed for Portland, Ore., two days later, carrying away all women and children that could be accommodated, and taking urgent messages to Washington praying for relief. After the sailing of the California the natives from the various settlements on the thousand islands of the coast began to gather in force for the avowed purpose of capturing and destroying the town. If the people of Sitka had had to wait until their appeal was answered from Washington there is small doubt that Sitka would have been wiped off the map as completely as it had been in 1803; but upon reaching Victoria, the commander of the California reported the situation to the British authorities, and on March 1 the British warship Osprey entered the harbor of Sitka and anchored with the Indian village under her guns; the Captain placed himself under the instructions of the Collector of Customs, the only representative of the United States in the district. This display of force cowed the Indians, who scattered to their homes.

The Osprey remained at Sitka until the arrival of the United States ship Alaska on April 3, when the country passed under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department, or at least such government as it had was administered by naval officers. This con-

tinued until May 17, 1884, when Congress enacted the first law providing any sort of civil government for Alaska. It is doubtful if history records so shameful a neglect of any province by any other great Government.

#### THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

In the meantime, the American pioneer had been penetrating the wilderness. The discovery of the gold-bearing bars of the Cassiar country had already made Wrangell an important outfitting centre when, in the Fall of 1880, gold was found in Silver Bow Basin near the present town of Juneau. The following year many prospectors came in, and the great gold-bearing quartz lodes of Douglas Island and the neighboring mainland were uncovered; thousands of claims were located, notwithstanding that there was no law permitting the acquisition of mining claims or any other title to the public lands in Alaska. For three years, without formal legal status, the people worked their mines, located and surveyed the town, and administered their affairs with reasonable success. No better example can be found of the innate genius of our people for self-government. To this day the old settlers speak with regret of the time when "law and order came and ruined the country."

On May 17, 1884, Congress passed an act providing a civil government for Alaska. This act will forever remain a curiosity to the student of government and political science. By its provisions the mining laws were extended to Alaska, but no provision whatever was made for acquiring title to non-mineral lands. A man might come to Alaska and mine, but he could not acquire a home. While towns were being founded and settlements established, no title could be obtained to the land on which they stood. It was not till nine years later that the townsite laws were extended to the Territory. A district court was created, with general jurisdiction over the whole district in both civil and criminal matters, and a Governor and Marshal appointed. The duties of the Register, Receiver and Surveyor of the Land Offices were imposed upon the Clerk of the Court and Marshal. The sole practical duties of the Governor under the act were to draw his salary and write an annual report.

### A MISFIT LEGAL CODE

Having provided the offices and machinery, the next step was to provide a system of laws. This duty Congress performed by the labor-saving device of adopting a ready-made code. Instead of ascertaining the needs and conditions of the country and providing laws to meet those needs and conditions, the "general laws" of the State of Oregon, as "far as applicable," were extended to and made the laws of Alaska. Thus a system of laws enacted for an agricultural people in a temperate clime, more than a thousand miles away, was saddled upon a mining population without even homes or the power to acquire homes, and living in a sub-arctic region. And this ready-made misfit Alaska was forced to wear for over sixteen years, the only independent piece of legislation deemed peculiarly fitted to the needs of this community of frontiersmen being a rigid prohibition law, which was quietly but completely ignored. The seat of government and the court were at Sitka, and governmental functions were confined almost exclusively to Southeastern Alaska. It was not until fifteen years later, in 1899, that the first court was held in the Valley of the Yukon.

Under the act of 1884, and under all subsequent amendments, the Governor and all the principal officers of the Territory are appointed by the President for a term of four years, but subject to removal at the pleasure of the appointing power. Thus it has happened that Alaska has been the victim of the worst features of the spoils system. It was not until 1913 that there was a single officer in Alaska who had not received his commission before he ever saw the country. Some may have been transferred by reappointment from one office to another, but without exception they all arrived as "carpetbaggers," bearing a commission as a reward for political service rendered somewhere in the States.

### FRUITS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM

Thus the daily life and business of the people of Alaska have been systematically subordinated to the spoils system. The wonder is that the men selected have, on the whole, not been worse. Some, indeed, were able and good men, and ably and con-

scientiously did their work; but, unfortunately, the fair fame of these has been overshadowed by the misdoings of others. For it is inevitable that the corruption and evil deeds of one scamp in office should be remembered longer and more vividly than the decent and efficient work of many good men.

The discovery of the great placer fields of the Klondike, Fairbanks and Cape Nome caused a large immigration to Alaska. The opening up of the Yukon Valley and the shores of Bering Sea rendered it utterly impossible for a single Judge residing at Sitka to attend to the business of the entire district. It is 2,000 miles by any feasible route from Sitka to Cape Nome. So Congress passed the act of June 6, 1900. By the provisions of this act, a district court is created with three Judges (increased to four, two years later), to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall hold office for four years unless removed by the President. The Judges, or a majority of them, are required to divide the Territory into judicial divisions, and the Attorney General assigns each Judge to a particular division. Thus there are in effect four courts. Appeals and writs of error lie to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in all cases where the amount involved exceeds \$500, excepting a few special cases which go direct to the Supreme Court. Prohibition was repealed, and a license tax imposed upon the saloons, such license to be issued by the court.

Gold was discovered at Cape Nome in 1898. In 1899 the beaches and neighboring gulches were turning out millions. Of course, as in every new country, and where title is initiated by prior possession, there were many conflicts in location and claims. Such conflicts are inevitable. Many of them were honest mistakes on both sides, but many others were initiated in fraud.

[The notorious judicial conspiracy in the Nome district, upon which Rex Beach based his novel, "The Spoilers," belongs to this period. A Federal Judge appointed a notorious political boss as receiver for a number of the richest gold claims in the district; the conspirators ousted the rightful owners and took out more than \$100,000 worth of gold before they could be stopped by legal processes. They were never pun-

ished, save for small fines imposed for contempt of court when they ignored an injunction. The details of the case, which are omitted here for lack of space, may be found in 121 Federal Reporter, at Page 209, with Judge Ross's scathing comments. Similar conspiracies, successfully carried through, have been recorded in the Juneau district, and the general conditions in Alaska at the present time are said not to have changed materially for the better.]

The result of such conditions is a deplorably widespread feeling of a lack of confidence in the integrity of our institutions. Such a feeling does not make for happiness and contentment of the people, nor foster a desire to make a permanent home in the country.

#### OTHER SERIOUS HANDICAPS

But if Alaska has suffered in the respects above pointed out, she has perhaps suffered still more from the apparently utter inability of Congress to understand the needs of the Territory. Congress has left undone those things which it ought to have done and done those things which it ought not to have done, until most Alaskans have come to the conclusion that there is verily no health in it. The Secretary of the Interior recently likened the situation to "patches of paint" on a house and lamented the fact that no comprehensive plan has ever been formulated. This does not inaccurately describe conditions. For instance, Congress

extended the homestead laws to Alaska, but, as no general system of surveys was likewise provided, the homesteader was required to have his homestead surveyed at his own expense. Except in a very limited area where public surveys have been made, it will cost as much to acquire a free homestead in Alaska as to buy an improved farm in the Mississippi Valley. Another example of blind action, resulting in great hardships, is found in a provision of the homestead law (repeated only a year ago) reserving from entry a space eighty rods wide between all entries on navigable waters. As the entire coast of Alaska, excepting Bering Sea and the arctic coast, is paralleled by ranges of high mountains, and the only lands on the coast capable of human habitation lie on navigable waters, this provision automatically withdrew from entry more than one-half the territory susceptible of cultivation. One can take up the volume of the Compiled Laws of Alaska and multiply these examples many fold; these are cited as illustrative of the general proposition.

#### INEFFICIENT BOARDS

To remedy this lack of adequate or suitable laws, Congress and the executive departments have created a host of boards, commissions and bureaus that are hampering the development of the country to a greater extent, perhaps, than would result from an entire absence of all written law.



THROUGH THIS RUGGED AND TYPICAL REGION RUNS THE ROUTE SELECTED BY THE ALASKA RAILWAY COMMISSION FOR AN IMPORTANT RAILROAD LINE



THE NOME EXPRESS READY TO START

One of these dog teams can cover the 1,400 miles from Nome to Dawson in 26 days, an average of 44 miles a day. In the races of the Nome Kennel Club the winning dog team has made the 412-mile course from Cripple Creek to Nome in 82 hours, or an average of 121 miles a day.

Americans have proved repeatedly that they can thrive and grow under that unwritten law which all companies of Anglo-Saxons have taken with them wherever they may go. But they have ever been impatient and resentful of governmental red tape and of bureaucratic meddlesomeness. In short, they like a government of law and not of men, and Alaska, unfortunately, has as yet far more government of men than of law. We have had an Alaska Engineering Commission since 1914, to build a railroad, with an expenditure to date of \$35,000,000, but so far very little of a railroad; we have had an Alaska Road Commission for nearly twenty years, to build wagon roads and trails, but there is a woeful lack of both; we have a Bureau of Fisheries, a Forestry Bureau, a Bureau of Education, a water-power service and so on, besides the Land Office, Post Office and Government cable and wireless, which last is giving excellent service. And now, since these various boards and bureaus, with overlapping and often conflicting jurisdiction, have got matters into an inextricable tangle, another board has been recently created by executive order to co-ordinate their activities. And a bill is pending in Congress to create

an Alaska Development Board, to develop all the other boards and bureaus!

The two principal industries of Alaska are gold and copper mining and fishing. With the mining laws Congress has fortunately done nothing, except to extend the general mining laws to Alaska, and to extend the time for filing adverse claims; and this industry is, and has always been, in an exceedingly healthy condition. What troubles it has had were due to high costs of transportation and causes other than governmental and bureaucratic interference.

#### PASSING OF THE SALMON

The taking and canning of salmon is the largest and most important industry in the Territory. Beginning in a small way more than thirty years ago, it gradually increased in volume. The increase in prices of all kinds of food products, following the outbreak of the war, gave a great impetus to the industry. In 1916 the production had risen to 247,764,309 pounds, with a value of \$21,567,123; in 1917, 265,452,307 pounds, value \$41,478,514; in 1918, 305,802,850 pounds, value \$44,493,418; but in 1919 the production dropped to 205,961,820 pounds, with a value of \$37,998,478. The statistics

are not yet available for 1920, but the run of fish was poor, and many of the cannery men are in distress, due both to a failure of the catch and to decrease in prices. The failure of the catch is the more remarkable in view of the much greater number of men employed and the increase in number of traps. In 1916 the number of traps was about one hundred, while in 1919 and 1920 nearly eight hundred were in operation.

The consensus of opinion in Alaska, among those best informed on the subject, is that the salmon are doomed to early extermination, because, under present conditions, it is impossible for sufficient numbers of fish to reach their spawning grounds and deposit their eggs to reproduce the supply. This is due to three principal causes: The excessive use of traps, illegal trap fishing, and illegal stream fishing.

#### PRESENT LAW A FAILURE

There is no limitation in the law of the number of traps permitted to any one person or in the aggregate. The law simply provides that the traps must be 1,800 feet apart, and must not be built in any waters where the distance from shore to shore is less than 500 feet, nor within 500 yards of the mouth of any red salmon stream which is less than 500 feet in width; if built above tide water they must not extend more than one-third of the way across the stream, nor be built within 100 yards outside of the mouth of red salmon streams less than 500 feet in width. Fishing, except with rod, spear or gaff, is also prohibited between 6 o'clock in the evening and 6 o'clock in the morning in any stream less than 100 yards wide. The administration of the law is in the hands of the Department of Commerce and Labor, under a Bureau of Fisheries, and violations of the law are prosecuted in the criminal courts.

That this law has lamentably failed to accomplish the purpose of conserving the supply of salmon is due as much perhaps to the failure of Congress to provide means for its adequate enforcement as to inherent defects obvious in the law itself. The Bureau of Fisheries lacks sufficient vessels to patrol the coast, and has not the men to guard and watch the traps and streams to see that the law is obeyed. So it frequently happens that if there is a big run of fish on

Saturday, and a shortage at the cannery, the traps are deliberately allowed to fish over the weekly closed period. Not one in twenty such violations is detected; but when one is, and prosecution and convictions follow with fines of from \$100 to \$1,000, the cannery is still ahead, for it has probably caught \$10,000 worth of fish that it might not otherwise have secured.

#### THE SILVER HORDE

When the fish are about ready to spawn they gather in and near the mouths of the streams in great schools, where they remain for several days before finally ascending the stream. These schools of ripe-egg-bearing fish are supposed to be protected by the law. As a matter of fact, with no agent of the law present, the temptation to take these easily caught fish is too great to be resisted. Hundreds of thousands of fish are being taken each season in and near the mouths of the salmon streams, in violation of the law, by all classes of fishermen. These violations of the law are seldom detected, but that they are common is notorious.

In Southeastern Alaska the excessive number of traps is probably the most serious single cause threatening the salmon industry. A glance at the map will show two great openings leading from the ocean into the thousands of miles of interior channels, sounds and bays into which the fish run on their way to the streams. These openings are Chatham Strait, stretching a hundred miles from Cape Ommaney to Point Retreat, and Icy Strait, fifty miles in length, from Cross Sound to Chatham Strait. The latter is lined with traps on both shores, placed every 1,800 feet and extending into the water from a few hundred to three thousand feet. If any part of this channel has not a trap for every 1,800 feet, it is because the nature of the channel is such that it cannot be driven. On Chatham Strait, because of the greater difficulty of building and maintaining them, the traps are not so abundant; but, even so, the fish have small chance of escaping all the traps on their way through either channel. The net results are seen in the rapidly decreasing number of salmon and the failure of many of the canneries in the past year to put up enough of a pack to clear expenses.

Many cannery men say that they will not operate in 1921, and this in itself will tend to increase the number of fish in succeeding years.

#### HIGH RAILWAY RATES

No problem before the Territory is more acute than that of transportation. The rates have always been high, but the recent advances threaten the very life of industry. Passenger rates have advanced about 90 per cent. and freight rates about 300 per cent. These rates are absolutely controlled by the Alaska Steamship Company, owned by the Kennecott Copper Corporation, which dominates also the only other American line, the Pacific Steamship Company. As a result, many of the low-grade mines, both of the coast and of the interior, are threatened with destruction, and industry of every kind is seriously crippled.

Some measure of relief would have been given by the Jones Shipping bill, approved June 5, 1920, except for the proviso in Section 27, which excludes Alaska from the benefits thereof. That section permits the shipping of freight from one point in the United States or its possessions to another in part over Canadian railways and steamship lines; but Alaska is excepted, apparently for no better reason than that she needed the relief more than any other part of the nation. As it is, freight may be shipped from Boston or Chicago to Prince Rupert, and thence by Canadian boats to Seattle or San Francisco, but not to Alaskan points. Yet, if it were permitted, freight sent from eastern points via Prince Rupert to Alaska or from Alaska to eastern points via Prince Rupert would save two or three days in time and \$10 to \$15 per ton in cost. The Alaska and Pacific Steamship Companies reap the benefit of this exception, and the people of Alaska pay the bills.

Already a large sawmill at Juneau, which prior to last June had a large and profitable business, shipping lumber via Prince Rupert to Winnipeg and thence south into the Middle Western States, has been forced to shut down. Last Summer financial arrangements had been completed to put in a large cold-storage plant to handle the fresh fish for the Chicago and Eastern markets, but the plans were abandoned because of the proviso forbidding shipment

by the most direct route via Prince Rupert. Our fresh fish are now sold either directly to Canada or are shipped at ruinous rates via Seattle. It is believed by many lawyers that this discrimination against the ports of Alaska made by the Jones bill is void under Section 9 of Article I. of the Constitution, but so far no one has cared to undertake the burden of making a test case.

#### POPULATION AND TRADE

The foregoing by no means exhausts the catalogue of grievances under which Alaska suffers. They are selected as typical of the neglect and short-sightedness of the Government in dealing with the Territory. Results are seen in the statistics of population. For Alaska is rich in natural resources, is a land of unrivaled beauty, and has a climate throughout a large part of the country superior to the climate of Northern Europe. She ought to have a population of at least 250,000 and to have already taken her place in the Union as a State. No country on earth produces so much wealth per capita or has so great a per capita commerce. Twenty years ago she had a white population of 30,473. There are no statistics available for that period, but it is believed that in the next five years these had grown to at least 75,000, but by 1910 the white population had dropped to 36,347. According to the census returns for 1920 it is now only about 29,000.\*

Notwithstanding this steadily decreasing population, there has been a fairly steady increase in commerce and production. Alaska products shipped to the United States from 1910 to 1919, inclusive, are: \$28,660,279, \$33,856,264, \$40,354,178, \$34,693,590, \$40,157,778, \$50,335,683, \$79,051,758, \$90,054,962, \$81,029,008 and \$65,131,056. The decrease from 1917 is in part accounted for by a decrease in population of about 11,000, shown by the excess of departures over arrivals in the Territory during the years 1917 and 1918. Many of these are now returning, the number of arrivals in 1919 and 1920 largely exceeding

\*The Superintendent of the Alaska District of the United States Bureau of Education, W. T. Lopp, announced on Nov. 7 that the 1920 census showed Alaska's total population to be 54,718, a decrease of 14.9 per cent. in the last decade. Ten years ago the population was 64,366. The new census shows 29,210 white residents as against 25,508 natives.—Ed.

the departures. The total commerce of the Territory, that is, the aggregate of imports and exports from 1913 to 1919, inclusive, were: 1913, \$67,529,000; 1914, \$70,505,868; 1915, \$82,874,122; 1916, \$119,937,443; 1917, \$141,125,462; 1918, \$127,049,139; 1919, \$109,652,339.

#### ALASKA'S VAST RESOURCES

This commerce exceeds that of several of the smaller nations of Europe before the war. It exceeds the commerce of the Philippines, with their more than 8,000,000 population. Since the United States bought the country it has added more than a thousand millions to the national wealth. Yet this great flood of riches has done very little for Alaska itself. Men make money in Alaska, but instead of building homes, churches, schools and cities with it, they take it away where living conditions are better—better, not so much because of climatic or other natural causes, but because they feel that, as long as they remain in the Territory, they and their children are denied many of the essential rights

of American citizens, are hampered and harassed by meddlesome boards, bureaus and commissions, and often misgoverned by officials wholly irresponsible to those they govern.

Give Alaska the same opportunity that was given the Western States in their Territorial days, and her population will increase by leaps and bounds and fill the land with settled, permanent homes. For she has more coal than Pennsylvania, more gold than California, more copper than Utah or Montana, oil and gas deposits of unknown extent, pulp timber to supply the nation with paper, water power of untold extent, fisheries greater than the Newfoundland Banks, and an agricultural area greater and more productive than that of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland combined.

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NOTE—Prior to the first election for Attorney General of Alaska Mr. Cobb, the author of this article, was designated by the Governor (Mr. Strong), to perform temporarily the duties of that office. His official designation was "Territorial Counsel," under joint resolution of the Alaska Legislature in April, 1915.

## THE FIRST WOMAN SPEAKER

THE position of Speaker of the House in the British Columbia Provincial Legislative Assembly was offered on Jan. 6 to Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith of Vancouver, B. C. Mrs. Smith accepted the office. She is the first woman Speaker of any legislative body in the world. In the provincial elections she won by a plurality of more than 4,000 votes. She also headed the poll of twenty-eight candidates. To these facts is due the honor conferred upon her by the members of the British Columbia Cabinet.

Mrs. Smith first entered politics as a silent partner of her husband, Ralph Smith, in 1894. When the latter died, in 1917, he

was Minister of Finance in the Brewster administration. In the next by-election Mrs. Smith took her husband's place as Provincial Representative from Vancouver. Among the privileges accorded to her are those of keeping on her hat in the House, of casting a deciding vote on a tie ballot, of being addressed as "Honorable," and of being spokesman for the Assembly in its address to the Throne. She is called Madam Speaker, has her own quarters in the House and her own staff, and on entering the Assembly is heralded by the traditional cry, "Make way for the Speaker!" while all the members of the House must rise.

# FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE AND MORO DOMINATION

By DONALD S. ROOT

*Experiences and conclusions of an American who spent six years among the Moros and wild tribes of the Southern Philippines—Episodes that illustrate the power of the masterful Moros to terrorize their neighbors—What would happen if Americans withdrew*

UNCLE SAM declared in a loud voice in 1898, or thereabouts, that he would take the Filipinos into his fold and educate them, and when they were educated to the proper point he would open the gates of the fold and let them graze as they willed on the pastures of the world. He went even further and announced that it was his conception of his duty that he protect them from the rough usage of other peoples until they were able to protect themselves. Proceeding always with the axiom in mind that Uncle Sam is a man of honor, are the Filipino people able to protect themselves?

I went to the Philippines in July, 1912, and did not return to this country until May, 1918. During all that time I was a commissioned officer in the Philippine Constabulary, stationed in a number of places in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago; so my knowledge is greater concerning conditions in that section than it is in the more northern provinces. About conditions in the south I am well informed.\*

The Moros, Subanos, Tirurays, Samals, Bajaus, Manobos, Bagobos, Bilans and Atas are some of the more important tribes of the Mindanao and Sulu section. There are three great divisions of the Moros—the Maranao, Maguindanao and Tau Sug or Joloano. The Moros dominate all the other peoples of the section. Each of the separate tribes has a different language, different tribal laws and different customs. There is as much difference, for instance, in the languages of the Maguindanao and Joloano Moros as there is between French and

Italian. One of them cannot understand the other unless he has learned the language. All the languages of all the other tribes are as different. There is absolutely no unanimity of thought, action or speech between any two of all the different tribes.

As I said, the Moros dominate all the other tribes. I do not mean that the Moros dictate the policy of the other tribes. I mean that the Moros are by far the most advanced in every way and that they are feared by the other tribes. The peoples of Mindanao and Sulu are not yet far enough advanced to be able to meet on common enough grounds to dictate or be dictated to except by force of arms.

## WHY THE MOROS DOMINATE

There was living in the early part of the year 1918 in the basin of Lake Buluan, in the heart of the Island of Mindanao, a Moro of the name of Mundi. He was an oldish man, much respected for his personal bravery and his unusual cleverness. This man I know well. I have slept and eaten in his house and am acquainted with his two wives and his houseful of children, not to speak of a large number of retainers and hangers-on of his household. Such is the respect that the people have for him that they call him "Bapa," which means, literally, "Uncle."

One day a Bilan came down from the hills back of the lake and took for himself three of Bapa Mundi's horses. An ordinary man would have come to my office and wailed long about it and begged me, with tears in his eyes, to punish the pigs who had thus wronged him. Bapa Mundi did nothing of the kind. He strapped his kris about his waist and went to call on the Bilans. Ar-

\*Not more than half a dozen Americans can read, write and speak the language of the Moros; the author of this article is one of these few.—Editor.

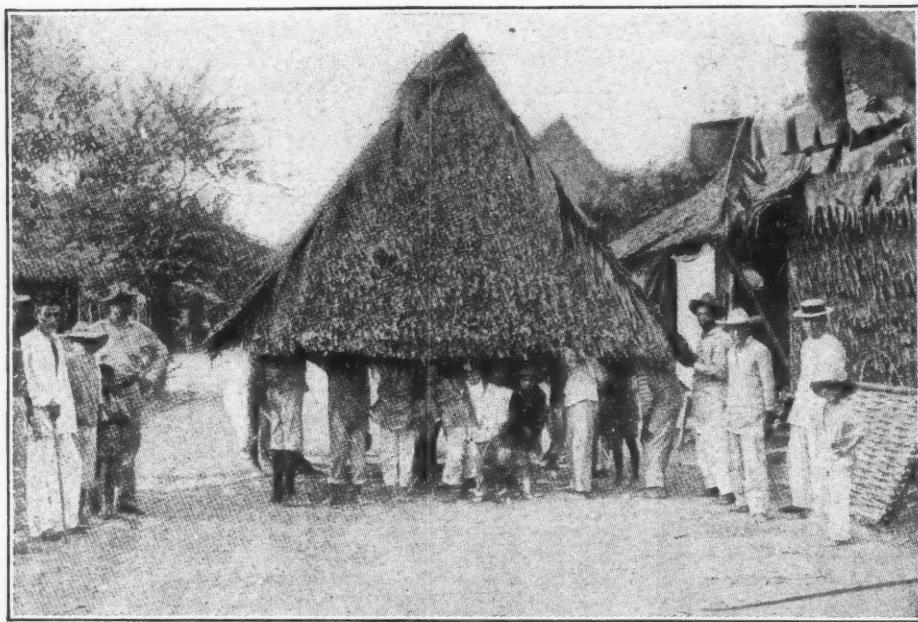
rived at the place where, for the moment, they were making their homes, he demanded the return of the horses. The Bilans denied all knowledge of the animals. As Mundi became more insistent, knowing that they had him in their power they waxed pugnacious and asked him what was to hinder their carving him up and keeping not only the three horses but also his kris and betel-nut box. Mundi replied that there was but one thing to hinder it, and that was himself. He invited any three of them to start working with that ambition in mind; in the event of success they could have the horses. There was hesitation and shuffling of feet and more hesitation, and Mundi again demanded the return of his horses. This time he threatened immediate butchery if his request were not complied with. They talked a few more guttural talks and gave him his horses. Bapa Mundi took the horses and made two Bilans come with him to help lead them home.

#### ANOTHER TYPICAL EPISODE

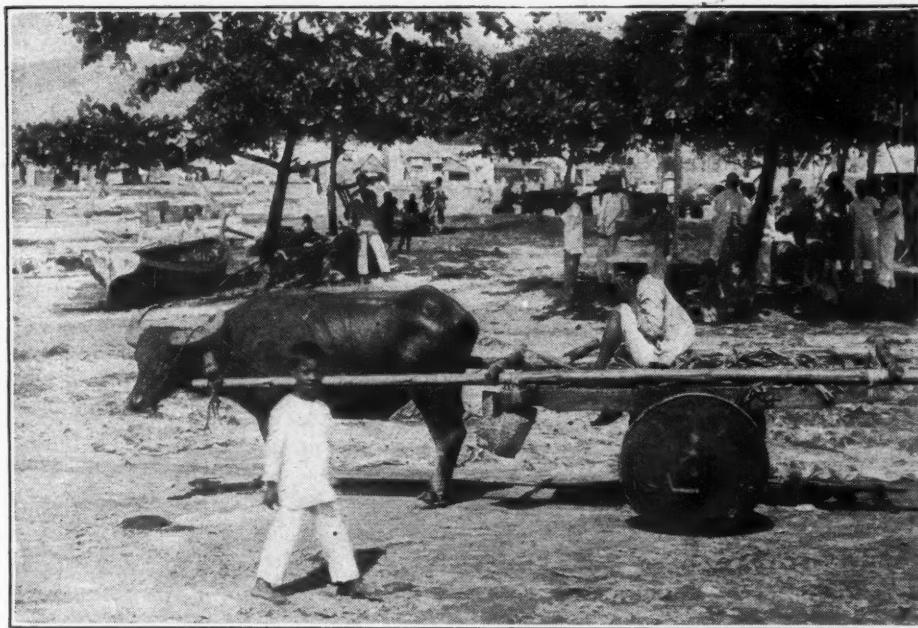
That is one example of the way the Moros and the wild tribes look upon each other. Here is another:

A Moro living in the village of Lalabuan, on the shores of Lake Lanao, whose name was Mama, made a little journey into the country of the Manobos in the Kulingtangan Mountains and, by guile or force, or both, stole the wife of a Manobo. He arrived safely at home with the purloined woman and everything went well for about two weeks. It took that length of time for the aggrieved husband to gather the courage to complain about the act. He finally arrived at my station. He could not speak Moro or any of the more civilized languages. I had no interpreter who could speak Manobo. A delay of more than a day was experienced in finding such a man. Finally he was procured and, after great patience, we were able to learn that the Manobo had had a wife of great beauty. Mama had paid a visit to the house in the mountains and had violated his hospitality by taking the woman with him when he left.

Now, the Manobo wished it understood that he had paid a good price for the lady, in silk and weapons and a roast pig, and that he loved her well. But the man who had taken her was a Moro, and he, the Manobo, wished to know if it were quite the proper thing to do for even a Moro to take



MOVING DAY IN THE PHILIPPINES: WHEN A FILIPINO CHANGES HIS PLACE OF RESIDENCE HE TAKES HIS HOUSE WITH HIM, FIRST MOVING THE ROOF ENTIRE, AS SHOWN IN THE ILLUSTRATION, AND LATER CONVEYING THE FOUR WALLS AT ONE TRIP IN THE SAME MANNER



(© Underwood &amp; Underwood)

TYPICAL SCENE IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: A BULLOCK CART IN CEBU

another man's wife. He was very anxious to do nothing to offend the Moro, but his desire to regain his wife was so great that he was willing to risk that. Of course, if being a Moro, the thief was justified, he would submit and return to the hills and live with his sorrow and his other wife.

Had another Manobo been the guilty party the husband would have journeyed by stealth to the house where rested his ravished wife and would finally have ended that man's power for wrongdoing by beheading him and returning home, also by stealth. The fact that in the heat of the moment he would probably have killed his wife and all the rest of the inmates of the house has nothing to do with the case.

We sent for Mama, and he came, bringing the woman and a long tale of how he had contracted for the same and had paid good money for her. She flung herself into the arms of the husband, and shortly afterward Mama went to jail.

These two incidents show how the Moros are looked upon by the other tribes of the Island of Mindanao. I wish to have the idea firm in the mind of the reader that the Moros are the dominating tribe of the

Southern Philippines. No Government could be satisfactory unless the Moros had a part in it. That part the Moros are not yet ready or willing to take. But they do not care to be ruled by any other Filipino people. They wish the United States to remain on the job.

#### TERROR OF MORO PIRATES

The Philippine Archipelago is an isosceles triangle with legs 1,000 miles long, and a base of 500 miles would inclose all but a part of the Sulu Islands. Luzon is the most northern of the large islands, and the Sulu Islands occupy the most southern part. It was the Joloano Moros, the inhabitants of Sulu, who in the early days were the "Malay" pirates. Go to the mouth of the Caya-gan River on the north coast of Luzon. On the bank of this river is a large stone blockhouse. In its sides are cut loopholes for the use of riflemen. Ask the oldest inhabitant of the village what that blockhouse is for and he will tell you that it was put up years and years ago, longer ago than he can remember, by the Spanish as protection against Moro pirates.



PRIVATE ORCHESTRA OF THE SULTAN OF SULU

The Moro pirates, you will learn, were accustomed, before the American occupation, to make regular visits to the mouth of the Cayagan River and take away the choicest girls, tobacco and other property of the good people who lived there. Go to Iloilo, Cebu, Legaspi, Tagloban, Catbalogan or any of the larger towns of the northern islands and you will see many such blockhouses, whose purpose was to protect the peaceful populace of those sections against the raids of Moro pirates. The blockhouses are now crumbling or have been made over into dwelling houses.

In December, 1914, I had to change steamers at Iloilo on my way from Manila to Zamboanga. Iloilo is a large city, being second or third in size in the Philippines. It is a busy seaport, a port of call for the Spanish mail steamers from Europe. It has large modern buildings, a more or less efficient police force, electric lights, sewerage and many other modern improvements. I was walking down the street toward the wharf to get aboard my steamer when I heard a great commotion behind me. I turned about and saw Chinese and Filipino tradesmen closing the doors of their shops, and such persons as happened to be on the street were dashing into doors not yet closed, or up convenient side streets.

In the middle of the street was the cause of all the uproar. Two Moros, without arms of any kind, and guarded by four of

"Iloilo's Foinest," armed with Winchester riot guns, were walking quietly down the centre of the street. Later I saw these two Moros on the ship and learned that they had been fishing in the waters outside Iloilo Harbor and had been blown ashore. Their boat had been wrecked and they had been taken into custody by a mob of the valiant populace and turned over to the Iloilo police.

Such is the terror that the Moros have instilled into the hearts of other Filipino tribes that two unarmed Moro fishermen guarded by four policemen with shotguns, were able to stir the City of Iloilo into a boiling, skurrying mob. The power of American arms has protected the Filipino people from this danger for the last twenty years. What would be the result, do you think, if that power were suddenly removed? The Moro is, with a few exceptions, no more restrained at heart than he was twenty or even one hundred years ago.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE MOROS ON INDEPENDENCE

Manuel Quezon, the leader of the Philippine Mission to the United States, I know. He probably does not know me, because I was rather small fry in the politics of Manila. I have been deer-hunting with Francis Burton Harrison, the Governor General of the Philippines, on the game preserve of the Sultan of Sulu. I also met Mr. Harrison

when the Government of the District of Mindanao, theretofore administered by the military authorities at Zamboanga, was formally turned over to the civil authorities. All the influential chiefs of the province were present to take part in the ceremony. One of the speechmakers from Manila, a Filipino and a very fine man, presented the District of Mindanao, especially the Province of Lanao, to the Civil Government. Great enthusiasm was felt by the visitors, and the speaker sat down with a glow of excusable pride on his face, for his speech had been masterly and finished to the last degree. But, as it was translated into the Moro language, it was noticed that none of the assembled natives showed any marked delight.

Datu Benito, later elected Assemblyman from that province, got up to reply. This is in effect what the Datu said:

We have heard the words of the great Filipino from Manila. They are good words. We wish to be governed by the Americans. They have done us great good and we like them. By their rule we have become pros-

perous and we thank them for that condition. But I wish to inquire who is this Filipino who gives our country to the American Government? What right has he to give the country of the Moros to anybody? Did he or any other Filipino ever have a right to say that a single foot of Moro soil was his? For many years before the Americans came we fought the Spaniards and the Filipinos to a standstill. We have had the Filipinos in abject terror for generations; withdraw the American Government from the islands, in other words, give us the independence that we hear talked about, and within a year the Philippine Islands will be governed by the politicians in Manila, but we, the Moros, will rule the southern islands and will again be the terror of those in the north. We have whipped the Filipinos once and can do it again.

The Moros do not want independence. Another writer has recently told what Hadji Butu thinks about it. Hadji Butu was for a long time Prime Minister to the Sultan of Sulu. The Sultan lost his power with the arrival of the Americans, and Hadji Butu has since then been closely associated with the office of the Governor of Sulu. He was elected Senator from the Department of Mindanao and Sulu when that department was first given an active part in the Government. The Sultan of Sulu is a weak and ignorant puppet. Hadji Butu is a diplomatist of consummate skill. He is a deep thinker and a speaker of tremendous power. He does not want independence.

There is but one Moro who holds greater power than does Hadji Butu. That man is Datu Piang of Cotabato. He is more than half Chinese. Datu Piang does not want independence. He has the broad vision of Aguinaldo and he knows that his people are not ready for it. Piang's son, Abula, was educated in the United States. Go the length and breadth of the Moro country and you cannot find one Moro who intelligently wishes for independence. They all wish it ultimately, but they realize that the time has not yet come. When you mention it to some of them their eyes shine for the moment with a sort of lustful anticipation of the glorious fight that would come. They believe that, as sure as independence comes, there will ensue a period of fighting and then the domination of the Moros. But the long-sighted ones, the men like Butu, Piang and Benito, prefer to look to the good of the people at large rather than to the enrichment of the few power-



AN IGORROTE ON HIS WAY HOME

ful ones and a reign of terror until some other strong nation steps in and puts an end to it, as America did.

#### MULTIPLICITY OF LANGUAGES

The principal Christian tribes of Luzon are the Tagalogs, Macabebes, Pangasinians, Pamgangers, Ilocanos, Cagayans, Bicols and Visayans. Besides these there are the Igorrotes, who are divided into five distinct branches, all speaking different dialects, viz., the Benguet, Lepanto, Amburayan, Bontoc and Luguagan Igorrote tongues. Then there are the Ifugaos, Ilongots, Kalingas, Katanaganes, Tingians and Negritos. The Negritos also appear in the Visayan Islands in Mindanao. There are six separate divisions of the Negrito tribe. In Mindanao we have the Maranaos, Magindanaos and Samals, all Mohammedans; the Zamboangueños, who are Christians, and the Pagan Atas, Bagobos, Bilanes, Bukidnons, Bulanganes, Guiangas, Mandayas, Manguaguans, Manobos, Subanos, Tagabalies, Tagabanas, Tagakaolos and Tirurays. In Sulu are the Mohammedan Tao Sug and Bajaus: The Tagbanuas inhabit Palawan and Busuanga, besides several of the smaller islands, while the Monteses of Panay and the Mangyans complete the roll of the well-defined tribes. The Visayans, who inhabit the southern part of Luzon and the Visayan Islands, speak at least four dialects.

Each of the tribes mentioned speaks its own language, and there are countless minor dialects. I do not expect any one to remember the names of all these tribes. They are all named here to give an idea of the difficulty that would be experienced if we tried at the present time to turn the Government over to them. In my humble opinion the thing would be an impossibility.

The Manobos, who live in Mindanao, have two great centres where are located the two most powerful chiefs of their race. In the Kulingtangan Mountains the Manobos cannot understand what their brothers who live at the headwaters of the Agusan River are talking about. The Tirurays, who live a few miles above Cotabato, at a place called Tamuntaka, cannot carry on speech with the Moros or Filipinos in the village of Cotabato. The Samals, who live on the



SULTAN OF SULU

(Photo by Wilson & Co., Singapore)

shores of the small islands of the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi Archipelagos, cannot converse with the Moros who live three miles from the coast of Jolo or Lugas.

#### SLOW PROGRESS IN ENGLISH

In spite of the tremendous work that the Bureau of Education has done, the great majority of the people of the Philippines, outside the large centres, do not understand English or Spanish. That statement is made with the full knowledge that it is contrary to reports circulated in the United States. The proof of it is in taking a trip

through the back country, as I have done; not in a casual look at schools in the larger towns, as many of those who have written about it have done.

I once spent the night in a little village on the north coast of Mindanao. I was invited by an aged Filipino woman to use her house as my headquarters during my stay there. Among the influential people who came to pay their respects to me were three school teachers, all young men, educated by the American Government. I supposed, of course, that they were able to speak English, so we began conversing in that tongue. That is to say, I spoke English. The gibberish that they used was nearer English than anything else, but it was almost impossible to understand them. Nor could they follow me except in the simplest things. So I changed to Spanish. My Spanish is not correct, but I speak the Spanish of the average Filipino with ease. These boys could understand nothing of what I said. In desperation I turned to Visayan, and after I had directed them to speak in the same language we got along swimmingly.

These three young men were school teachers supposed to be teaching the children of that place to speak English. This is not the fault of the system nor yet of the Bureau of Education. It is the fault of time. The people have not yet had sufficient time to learn the common language.

Newspaper reports to the contrary notwithstanding, there are thousands of the natives of the Philippine Islands who have never seen a white man. Wonders have been done in the way of opening up the country since the American occupation. Roads have been built through the tangled and trackless wilderness, schools have been established miles from any road. But the Island of Mindanao is a huge place. There are still tribes in the interior who value salt more highly than gold and know nothing of the world outside.

#### BANDIT PROBLEM ILLUSTRATED

In the Pidatan country of Mindanao, away up on the backbone of the island, where mountain peaks and deep valleys alternate in a terrible jungle of wilderness, there lives a Moro of the name of Ampuan Agaus. I once met Ampuan Agaus on the

field of battle. His chief aid, Radjamuda Randi, shot me, and I was laid up for repairs for nearly a year; so I have a personal interest in Ampuan Agaus. In former times Ampuan lived in prosperity if not peace in the Taraka Valley near the shore of Lake Lanao. He was a power among the Moros. But one day, during a lull in the fighting between the Americans and the Moros, he was captured. This was in the early days of American rule. Ampuan waited his chance and, with two companions, made an attempt to escape. The two were killed, but Ampuan Agaus was successful. He went to Pidatan. By one means or another he secured a few rifles. A year or so after that Sergeant Carabao of the Philippine Constabulary deserted from his company, taking with him all the rifles he could carry. He joined Ampuan Agaus in the wild forests of Pidatan. Alemada, another chief from the country south of Pidatan, got some guns and ammunition. They all joined forces. Later Sergeant Dimasanka of the constabulary, and five others, deserted, taking their arms.

They joined forces with the rapidly growing band. Amai Makarimbung, from near Parang-Parang on the south coast, got a few followers together, and with the help of a renegade Tagalog, a deserter from the Spanish Guardia Civil, raided the village of Parang-Parang, killed a few men, burned a few houses, and stole a few guns and a woman. They joined Alemada and Ampuan Agaus.

No one knows whence came the arms and ammunition that these outlaws had, but they had them in great abundance. From their headquarters in Pidatan they sent raiding parties to the lowlands and carried off animals, killed the inhabitants, burned houses and generally conducted a small-sized reign of terror. The task of stamping out these bandits was long and difficult, but in the course of years, by dint of punitive expeditions and peace propaganda, the followers dwindled and surrendered until there were left only the two leaders, Alemada and Ampuan Agaus. Ultimately they, too, settled down to live peaceable lives.

That is the kind of thing that the American arms have had to handle for the last twenty years. It is the thing that Spain

was powerless against for decades before. Take the American Government away from the islands and the old state of affairs would inevitably return. By no means all the Christian peoples are able to take care of themselves in a governmental way, and we cannot say that even a small percentage of the people of the wild tribes are able to

govern themselves when scarcely any of them can understand the simplest principles of peaceful government. Before leaving them to solve their own problems let us get them educated to a point where they can at least have something to say in an intelligible language with the others who are trying to rule the country.

## WOMAN'S NEW POSITION IN INDUSTRY

HAS the war permanently enlarged the orbit of woman's industrial power in the United States? Has she gained a permanent position in those branches of industry from which she was virtually excluded before the war? These questions are answered by an official publication of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor under the title, "Woman's New Position in American Industry." The facts it presents have a very real interest for any student of the industrial development of the United States. The report shows that, barring negligible exceptions, women not only "made good" during the war in occupations formerly supposed to belong only to men, but also that they are continuing to fill such positions satisfactorily.

The main industries employing women before the war were five—textile, personal apparel, food products, tobacco manufacture, hand and foot wear. In mechanical lines women were generally debarred from positions requiring skilled labor, from "key" occupations, the operation of "master" machines, &c. "Organized labor policies, although not always officially, discouraged apprentice work for women in the skilled occupations." When women were employed in mechanical industries at all they had been relegated to minor processes of manufacture. After the United States entered the war the essential factories were overwhelmed with work; many were without adequate labor. Then the women stepped forward to do their bit.

Of 562 plants questioned, more than 77 per cent. reported satisfactory results from the experiment in employing feminine labor as a war measure. If only temporarily, woman had at last stormed her way into

the domain of skilled labor, into the crafts formerly monopolized by men. Special training, of course, was required. Adjustments had to be made. Women workers were found particularly efficient in handling small machines requiring little or no physical strength but a considerable degree of skill. To handle the material for large machines, lifting devices were added. The women failed only when such devices were not furnished. In Ohio and Pennsylvania a limit of fifteen pounds was set by law to the weight which they should be expected to lift with their own strength; in New York of twenty-five pounds; in Massachusetts of forty pounds.

The permanent results of all this feminine activity are summed up by the Labor Department's report in these words:

The success attending the emergency employment of women in occupations requiring a high degree of skill and the expansion of commercial trade has resulted in the retention of women in most of these crafts and industries since the war, and bids fair to encourage a larger use of woman labor in the future.

Whatever the future may bring, the reports of over 1,000 firms employing female labor show that, nine months after the signing of the armistice, nearly 45 per cent. of the female labor had been retained. The largest reduction for both sexes took place, naturally, in industries that had been manufacturing explosives and other war materials. Many of the female employees, moreover, had been of the class of married women working on part time. Even allowing for this, of 74,873 women workers employed in November, 1918, some 32,383 were still being employed in August, 1919, and all the evidence points to the continuance of women in their new positions.

# AMERICAN POWERS IN PANAMA

By ELBRIDGE COLBY

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*A rapid survey of what the United States troops in Panama have done to make life and property safe for the people, and what American experts have found out after a careful study of the needs of the Isthmian Republic—Reforms in the Province of Chiriquí*

**I**N the Canal Zone the United States controls and administers a strip of land which almost equally divides the Republic of Panama. The republic itself has no army and no navy, depending entirely upon the Americans for protection in case of war, but the republic does maintain its own police force for the maintenance of order in the cities of Colon and Panama and in the interior provinces. The jurisdiction of the United States authorities, of the army and navy and of the efficient Canal Zone police, is supposed to be confined to the limits of the Canal Zone itself.

In practice, however, the Americans exert a much wider authority. Under the provisions of the Hay-Varilla Treaty, the United States can purchase from individuals and assume control over any lands either inside or outside of the zone which

may be deemed necessary for the construction, operation, maintenance or protection of the canal. Recently our officials have taken over reservations for wireless stations two and three hundred miles up and down the coast in both directions. They have acquired lands in strategic positions on both sides of the zone, buying out and moving the settlers.

Likewise, in the interests of law and order, Americans have frequently taken over for short periods the police duties in remote provincial towns. Elections in South and Central American countries are very apt to be seized upon by aspiring politicians as pretexts for revolutions. To secure fair campaigning and balloting, detachments of United States marines have been landed, employes of the Panama Canal have been armed and sent out and officers and enlisted-



(Pictorial News Company)

NEW POLICE HEADQUARTERS AT ANCON, PANAMA

ed men of the army have been detailed to supervise the elections and prevent violence and compulsion. These people have gone to Porto Bello, to Santiago, Sona, Bocas del Torro, and to David, towns all so far distant from the zone as to require elaborate expeditions, with complicated problems of transportation and supply.

#### OUR TROOPS IN CHIRIQUI

A large detachment of infantry sent to David, in Chiriqui Province, 350 miles from Panama, to supervise the elections in July, 1918, has been kept up there long after the initial reason for its presence has ceased to exist. General R. M. Blatchford, then commanding the Panama Canal Department, and William Jennings Price, American Minister to Panama, had the troops stay to protect American property and the property of Europeans. Cattle stealing was prevalent in the province, murders were frequent, and the local police seemed not to be able to cope with the situation or to secure convictions in court after they had made arrests. So the troops remained and interfered in local matters of policing and justice to such an extent that soon the people of the province began to look to them in these matters instead of to their own officials. They remained much longer than had ever been intended—at the earnest request of American ranch owners. Their presence was supported by many of the natives, but was the cause of bitter objections on the part of local politicians.

As a result of their presence and of determined efforts on the part of the Panamanians to remove the necessity for their presence, conditions in Chiriqui Province have been gradually improving. An Italian merchant in Colon and a landowner in Chiriqui stated recently that before the American troops came there was no justice in Chiriqui. Murders had been committed and no action had been taken. Americans were killed and their properties confiscated. In five months after the troops arrived a hundred cattle thieves were arrested; some of the ringleaders were captured by an American sergeant, who was recommended for the Distinguished Service Medal for his excellent work. What is more, they were sentenced, and persons who were serving their sentences in their own homes or on their own plantations were properly brought

to justice. The local papers were filled with names of criminals taken into custody; many vigorous attacks were made upon the local laxity in judicial affairs; it was openly charged that justice was bought and sold; and under all this pressure conditions gradually improved.

#### POLICE REFORMS

The chief reason given for this interference by American troops in internal Panamanian affairs was the inefficiency of the Panaman police. The police had been badly paid, and they seldom received the full pay due them. Payment was made by warrants on the National Government, and the lack of a good banking system forced them to have these discounted by local merchants who happened to be on good terms with the Government. That is all changed now, however. An American, A. R. Lamb, became Inspector General of the Panaman National Police and promptly instituted reforms. He put a stop to the discounting and embargoing of police salaries; and to increase the efficiency of the force he put into operation a plan by which, in provinces with scattered populations, there should be a corps of mounted police.

An ex-Major in the American Army went over the situation and found that prisoners were crowded into jails, and that they were delayed over-long in obtaining trials, if they were not eventually released without trial altogether, and that they were not made to work while serving sentence. In a long report he pointed out that it would be for the material benefit of the community and for the physical benefit of the prisoners if they were utilized for construction of roads, buildings and other necessary public works.

#### STAMPING OUT CITY VICES

In another striking way the American authorities have been taking a hand in Panaman internal affairs. In the Spring of 1918 there were committed in Panama City two widely advertised crimes. An American soldier got into trouble with some natives and as a result was sentenced to life imprisonment in a particularly foul prison situated on the sea wall of Panama City where the tides wash the floors of some of the dungeons. A Panaman woman

of the red light district murdered an American soldier and was sentenced to about forty-nine days in jail, and was released after serving only five of them. The Commanding General immediately declared

mans and entered into a spirit of co-operation with the officials of the republic. The new General still maintains the provost guards, but they concern themselves chiefly with keeping American soldiers out of



THE OLD CATHEDRAL AT PANAMA

a boycott on the republic, keeping all American army and navy men away from the two cities, where they had been accustomed to spend their monthly pay. He put strong provost guards in both towns, issued stringent orders forbidding certain people to enter the Canal Zone, and patrolled the streets of Panama and Colon with men in uniform and with plain clothes men. He demanded certain laws of the Panamanian Assembly; he issued stringent orders; he assailed the vice in the republic and called the two cities modern replicas of Sodom and Gomorrah. Relations were very strained for a long time, but General Blatchford kept on with his demands and compelled the Panamanians to accede to his wishes.

#### PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION

In July, 1919, he was succeeded by Major Gen. Chase W. Kennedy, who lifted the restrictions, made friends with the Pan-

trouble. He maintained for a time the detachment in David, Chiriqui Province, but the soldiers ceased to interfere in purely local affairs and acted more in a diplomatic way, almost as a legation guard would, for the protection of American interests.

Conditions have improved generally throughout the republic. Official figures show that though the percentage of convictions in criminal courts increased only from 43 per cent. for July-December, 1917, to 47 per cent. for January-June, 1919, the number of criminal cases had been reduced about 25 per cent. In Chiriqui Province, where cattle thieving had been an easy means of livelihood, and where convictions were few and far between, there have been no cases of this sort since the beginning of 1920. Whatever the legal justification for American interference in internal affairs, this interference has had a good effect in reducing crime, in securing quick justice, in stimulating the Panamanian police to more

efficient methods and in generally improving the condition of the country.

#### NO AMERICAN EXPLOITATION

Tropical countries are usually undeveloped economically, and their immense resources invite exploitation at the hands of capital from the temperate climes. But tropical countries are frequently unstable politically, and their Governments often indulge in unsound finance; hence national debts and commercial concessions cause international complications, threats of war, actual armed demonstrations and the establishment of protectorates.

Panama seems to be a striking exception to this rule. In the first place, that republic, since its establishment, has been definitely under the wing of one world power. At the very inception of its nationality the United States undertook to maintain the independence of Panama. In the second place, American penetration followed rather than preceded intervention, and the United States by its military and naval forces prevents disorder, and by its annual stipend for the Canal Zone privileges actually spends money in Panama rather than demands payments. Thirdly—and this is the distinguishing point—American interests are mainly connected with the canal, and not with the exploitation and development of commercial opportunity. It is true that the Republic of Panama does owe considerable sums to the Farmers Trust Company and to the Metropolitan Trust Company of New York,\* but these banks seem to have followed the diplomats instead of going in advance and calling the diplomats to their support, as has so frequently been the case in other parts of the world.

#### CALLING IN AMERICAN AID

Panama, then, has been left practically to her self-development, and, like most tropical countries, has done but little. Something has been done. A railway was built in Chiriquí by the Government. Some water transportation was provided. The United Fruit Company was encouraged to develop the port of Almirante. Telegraph lines have been extended. But enough was not done,

and the Panamans, realizing the fact, called in American experts for advice.

Major A. R. Morell, Department Quartermaster of the United States Army in the Canal Zone, skilled in accurate methods of accounting and administration, was, upon his release from the service, engaged by the Republic of Panama to make an exhaustive survey of the finances of the Government and to make recommendations toward more efficient management. Mr. Addison T. Ruan, the Fiscal Agent, was given wide scope in revising methods in the National Treasury and in putting into effect a suitable budget scheme, with appropriate means for the collection of taxes and the allotment of expenditures. Major Morell investigated thoroughly and made great progress toward the elimination of slackness in administration and inspection of accounts.

But this was not all. A commission of American financiers, headed by Clarence J. Owens, was invited to make an economic survey and to suggest means for the organization of an agricultural bank for the republic. This mission visited many of the provinces of the republic, obtained evidence from officials and citizens, from prominent men of business and from farmers, and finally submitted a report and suggestions which promise much for the future of the country if carried to execution. The survey contemplates a rational development of Panama by Panamans, with the aid of the Government of the republic. The most significant features of this report are summarized in the remaining paragraphs of this article.

#### FARM LOAN ACT

There is dire need of a financial system to serve the interests of agriculture. There are three banks in the City of Panama, viz., the International Banking Corporation, affiliated with the National City Bank of New York; the American Foreign Banking Corporation, affiliated with the Chase National Bank of New York, and the Panama Banking Company. All these banks also have branches in Colon. They operate almost exclusively for commercial purposes, and are not under governmental supervision; there is no other bank in the republic, either governmental or private. Interest is charged at a minimum of 9 per cent. and

\*To be paid off in full in 1925.

up to 12 per cent., but these loans are made only to the selected few who have unquestioned liquid collateral to offer. In each province definite evidence was secured as to the lack of money for agricultural operations, and the commission urged that a system be inaugurated to make the land a basis of credit for long-time mortgage loans at reasonable rates, on the amortization plan. A rural credit law will operate successfully in the country, provided adequate reconstruction plans are inaugurated.

In each province only a small percentage of those claiming the soil have their titles registered and in their possession. Evidence has been secured as to the long delays in the issuance of titles, these delays running, in many instances, to seven years, and in a few cases even longer. It may be reasonably presumed that with the organization of an agricultural bank the registration of land titles will be hastened. The opportunity to get a loan will be sufficient incentive for men to register their property. The mission recommends a complete and accurate survey of the lands of the republic and the adoption of the Torrens system of registration of titles.

#### DEVELOPING TRANSPORTATION

Of practically equal importance is the need of a system that will provide for the distribution or marketing of the products of the soil to economic advantage. The mission recommends extension of existing short railway lines and the repair of rolling stock and roadbed of the Chiriquí line (with the present condition of the road regular schedules cannot be maintained). Canoes and launches are still used in a small way on the many rivers and for the coastwise traffic. There is inadequate boat service on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards, and the development of the waterways for passenger and freight traffic, connecting with up-river ports, should be established. The mission recommends the purchase of at least four of the wooden ships that the United States Shipping

Board now has for sale, with a view of placing them in the coastwise service.

The most vital need is that of highways. There is not a single modern highway in the republic. A few roads have been built, extending a few miles back from the small ports, but these have not been kept up. A direct and immediate plan for highway construction must be undertaken; the progress of the country will be handicapped until such work is undertaken. The mission recommends the co-operation of the republic on the military highways which the United States plans to build.

#### COURTS AND SCHOOLS

There is a positive necessity for rapid enforcement of the law. The judicial system should be so reorganized as to bring about prompt hearing in courts, clear and just interpretation of the law, and prompt decisions. With the guarantee of life and property in the interior, the incentive will be given to many to locate on the soil.

The American Commissioners advise the expenditure of public money for scientific agricultural education. The exigency of the hour, they say, demands that not only general instruction be given in the public schools and through an experimental college, but that an extensive service be organized to take to the people in their homes and on their farms—even in the remotest districts—practical lessons in agriculture, education, sanitation, health and social organization, thus building up the community spirit to the end that a finer rural civilization may be established. A comprehensive system of assessment and taxation should be provided for lands. Urban real estate should carry a higher rate of taxation than agricultural lands.

This report was made up by Clarence J. Owens, in collaboration with Boris A. S. Aronow, statistician of the Federal Farm Loan Board; Thomas R. Preston, President of the Hamilton National Bank of Chattanooga, Tenn.; Robert M. Estes, statistical expert of the Department of Commerce, and Emilio M. Amores and Charles H. Baker of the staff of the Pan American Union.

# THE ANTI-JAPANESE ISSUE IN CALIFORNIA

By E. GUY TALBOTT\*

*A study of the underlying causes of the anti-Japanese legislation in California, the growing dangers of the situation, and the possible solution of a troublesome question*

THERE are three phases of the Japanese problem in the United States. The first is the question of citizenship, which is both a State and a national problem. The second is the question of immigration, which is almost wholly a Pacific Coast problem; and the third is the land issue, common to all the Pacific Coast States, but especially pressing in California.

The question of Japanese citizenship is coming to the fore as a new source of international trouble. Japanese born in this country are citizens of the United States by virtue of that fact. It is impossible, however, for adult Japanese to become naturalized, and they are thus deprived of citizenship, with its consequent rights and privileges. Reputable authorities on Japanese law and custom declare that American-born children of Japanese parents have dual citizenship. The statement is based on a section of the Civil Code, which says: "A child is a Japanese if his or her father is a Japanese at the time of his or her birth."

The report of the California State Board of Control says:

Every Japanese, wherever born, is a citizen of Japan, unless expatriated. Every Japanese in the United States, whether American born or not, is a citizen of Japan, and as such is subject to military duty to Japan from 17 until 40 years of age, unless expatriated. Every American-born Japanese holds dual citizenship: first, allegiance to Japan, with compulsory military service, and, second, rights of citizenship in America. \* \* \* Once a Japanese, always a Japanese, unless each individual Japanese renounces allegiance in the man-

ner prescribed by the Civil Code of Japan, and his renunciation is accepted by the Japanese Government.

Professor Charles E. Martin, lecturer on international law at the University of California, confirms the above as follows:

Japan will relinquish her jurisdiction over foreign-born Japanese, not through the voluntary act of the individual, but only through the permission of the home Government. In this way the home Government has a rigid military hold on its foreign-born citizens.

## QUESTION OF NATURALIZATION

More than 25,000 Japanese children have been born in California, are thus American citizens, and will some day be American voters. It is this fact which causes the California people to look with disfavor on the rapid increase of Japanese births and to seek to curtail the growth of Japanese population. The Japanese are colonists, living in segregated communities. If citizenship were granted adult Japanese, they would even now control some local communities. The Japanese themselves earnestly desire to have the franchise. They desire it because they wish to have all the rights and privileges of American citizens. They desire it because race discrimination is odious to them; they are a proud people. They are using every means at their command to mold a favorable public opinion, so that they may be able to obtain the franchise.

Kawakami, the Japanese official spokesman in the United States, says:

To the Japanese the question of naturalization is more vital and of greater significance than most other questions that affect them. Indeed, it is the sine qua non of the Japanese question of today. If this one question shall be solved in a manner satisfactory to the Japanese, such anti-Japanese bills as

\*The Rev. E. Guy Talbott, author of this article, has lived in California for sixteen years, and has been a close student of the Japanese question throughout that period. For several years he was Executive Secretary of the California State Church Federation, and later Pacific Coast Secretary of the Interchurch World Movement. Most of the statistics in the present article are from a recent report of the California State Board of Control.—EDITOR.

have been introduced time and again in the Legislature of California will never again be put forward.

There are two citizenship proposals before Congress. One of these would deny the right of franchise to any child, either of whose parents is "ineligible to citizenship." This would make it impossible for Japanese children to become citizens. The other proposal was embodied in a very comprehensive bill of immigration reform, introduced by the National Committee on Constructive Immigration Legislation, of which Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, for twenty-five years a missionary in Japan, is the Secretary. This plan would give citizenship to all who qualify, and would repeal the naturalization laws, making it possible for Japanese and Chinese to become citizens.

#### PROPOSED IMMIGRATION BILL

The bill proposed by the National Committee on Constructive Immigration Legislation advocates sweeping measures of reform. It provides for an Immigration Commission, for the repeal of discriminatory acts and acts in contravention of United States treaties, and for "limiting future immigration through annual determination by the Secretary of Labor, on report of the Immigration Commission as to the 'maximum number of aliens of each nationality' or 'percentage of each ethnic group' on the basis of: (1) Record of previous assimilation of their immigrants into our citizenship; (2) needs of our labor market, including domestic servants."

The proponents of this plan contend that the maximum number of Japanese immigrants will be much less than under the present "Gentlemen's Agreement" and "Picture-Bride" plan inaugurated by the Japanese Government. Dr. Gulick has put the number of Japanese who would be admitted annually as low as 1,200. The opponents of the plan, by elaborate tables, argue that it would materially increase the Japanese population, until in three generations there would be more than 6,000,000 Japanese immigrants in the United States. This estimate is on the supposition that 5 per cent. would be admitted annually. Dr. Gulick's proposal is that a small percentage (the exact amount to be determined) be admitted only of those who have become

Americanized and have qualified for citizenship, under the provision of his bill.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" became operative in 1909. The following table shows the arrivals and departures of Japanese immigrants at that period and in the more recent years of 1917 and 1918 continued in the United States.

#### JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION SINCE 1908

	Arrivals.	Departures.
1908 .....	9,544	4,796
1909 .....	2,432	5,004
1917 .....	9,150	6,581
1918 .....	11,143	7,191

#### INCREASE IN TWO YEARS

Of the total Japanese population in California about 75 per cent. are classed as laborers, the great majority being in agriculture. According to the Japanese Association of America, there were 68,982 Japanese in California in 1918. Of this number 38,008 were on farms.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA IN 1918

Men .....	41,842
Women .....	12,232
Boys .....	7,877
Girls .....	7,031
Total .....	68,982

At the request of the State Board of Control, the Japanese Association of America made another census of Japanese in 1920. It discovered in March, 1920, a total of 83,628 Japanese in California, including in this number about 5,000 children temporarily in Japan for educational purposes. At the same time the Board of Control made an independent census of Japanese, and discovered 87,279. This is an increase for the two-year period of 18,287, or 26.5 per cent. It is this rapid increase of Japanese and the increase in their control of land that so alarm the people of California. The Board of Control states that there are good reasons to believe that large numbers of Japanese have been smuggled into the United States across the Mexican border. Of course there is no way even to estimate how many have been thus smuggled in. The number is rapidly increasing from some source.

In addition to immigration the Japanese population of California is being rapidly increased each year by births. The total Japanese population in California in 1910

was 41,356. This number increased 111 per cent., or 45,923, for the decade. During the decade the total number of Japanese births was 28,037, or 61.4 per cent. of the total increase for the decade. The following table shows the relative increases in population for different racial groups:

POPULATION INCREASES, 1910 TO 1919

	P. C.
Whites .....	22.4
Negroes .....	45.7
Japanese .....	111.0
Indians .....	5.1
Chinese .....	*8.2

\*Decrease.

INCREASE IN PERCENTAGE OF MINORS, 1910 TO 1919

	P. C.
Total population.....	20.3
Whites .....	18.5
Chinese .....	17.6
Indians .....	22.2
Negroes .....	36.1
Japanese .....	252.0

HIGH BIRTH RATE

In 1910 one birth in every forty-four in California was Japanese; in 1919 the ratio had increased to one Japanese for each thirteen births. In the rural parts of Sacramento County in 1919 the Japanese births were 49.7 per cent. of all births. In Los Angeles City and County in 1917 the Japanese births were 10 per cent. of the total number of births. In 1909 the Japanese births were 2.2 per cent. of all the births in the State; in 1917 they were 7.8 per cent. The number of Japanese births increased from 455 in 1908 to 4,108 in 1917. These facts lead the State Board of Control to say that "the fecundity of the Japanese is nearly three times that of the whites."

There are 45,457 Japanese men in California, and 15,211 married Japanese women. In 1919 there were 4,378 Japanese babies born to these women, or 28.8 per cent. In 1910 the percentage of white births to white married women was 9.9. Much has been said about Japanese "picture brides"; that is, brides chosen by means of photographs, and brought to this country to be married. From July 1, 1911, to Feb. 29, 1920, there were admitted to the United States 5,749 of these fair Nipponee. During the calendar year 1918 there arrived at the Port of San Francisco 524 picture brides. Of this number 182, or 34.8 per cent., became mothers up to Feb. 29, 1920.

There is a general impression that the bringing in of picture brides was a viola-

tion of the gentlemen's agreement, since most of these "brides" immediately became farm laborers. They were evidently not brought over simply for breeding purposes. Hundreds and thousands of them work in the fields beside their men. The opposition to picture brides caused the Japanese Government to announce that no more passports would be issued for them after February, 1920.

IMMIGRATION COMPARISONS

The net increase of Japanese in California by immigration from 1910 to 1919 was 25,592, while for the rest of the United States the Japanese population decreased by emigration 10,873. The following table illustrates how Japanese immigration is especially a California problem:

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

	Total Japanese population April 15, 1910.....	All California.	Other States.	Total.
*Arrivals April 15, 1910-Dec. 31, 1919	32,702	45,681	78,383	
Total .....	74,058	76,482	150,540	
†Departures for same period.....	7,110	56,554	63,664	
Total Dec. 31, 1919 .....	66,984	19,928	86,876	

\*Immigrants only. †Emigrants only.

In 1919 the California Legislature, at the request of Governor W. D. Stephens, ordered the State Board of Control to make a comprehensive survey of the Japanese situation in California. This was to form the basis for any necessary anti-Japanese legislation. The report of the Board of Control was printed June 19, 1920. The Governor at once addressed a letter to Secretary of State Colby, urging the passage of a rigid Japanese exclusion act by Congress. The attitude of the people of California toward Japanese immigration is well set forth in the following quotations from the letter of Governor Stephens:

California harbors no animosity against the Japanese people or their nation. California, however, does not wish the Japanese people to settle within her borders and develop a Japanese population within her midst. California views with alarm the rapid growth of these people within the last decade in population as well as in land control, and foresees in the not distant future the gravest menace of serious conflict if this develop-

ment is not immediately and effectively checked.

I trust that I have clearly presented the California point of view, and that in any correspondence or negotiations with Japan which may ensue as the result of the accompanying report, or any action which the people of the State of California may take thereon, you will understand that it is based entirely on the principle of race self-preservation and the ethnological impossibility of successfully assimilating this constantly increasing flow of Oriental blood.

Governor Stephens is neither an alarmist nor a "jingo" politician. For months he was importuned by the rabid anti-Japanese exclusionists to call a special session of the Legislature to deal with the Japanese question. This he consistently refused to do. When he had before him the carefully prepared report of the State Board of Control he acted in harmony with the facts as reported. His letter fairly represents the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the people of California.

#### JAPANESE LAND CONTROL

The very heart of the problem in California is the Japanese control of land. In spite of the alien land law enacted by the California Legislature in 1913—over the protest of the United States Government—Japanese land holdings have increased 412.9 per cent. in the last decade and the value of crops grown by Japanese has increased 976.8 per cent. In 1918 the Japanese Association reported that Japanese in California owned 527 farms with 29,105 acres, and held under lease 5,936 farms with 336,721 acres, making a total controlled by Japanese of 6,433 farms with 365,826 acres. In addition, about 13,000 acres were cultivated by Japanese-controlled corporations.

The California State Board of Control reports that the Japanese in 1920 owned 74,769 acres and leased 383,287 acres. Since 1913 the Japanese cannot hold title to land. The law, however, has been evaded in several ways, so that land owned and controlled by Japanese has very materially increased in the past few years, particularly since 1918, as the figures just quoted prove. The total acreage controlled by Japanese in 1920, totaling 458,056, seems very small when compared with the total acreage of the State of California, 99,617,280 acres; or even when compared with the total farm lands, 27,931,444 acres; or even when com-

pared with the total of improved farm lands, 11,389,894 acres. The true basis of comparison, however, is with California's irrigated farm lands, since practically all land controlled by Japanese is irrigated land. Out of a total of 3,893,500 acres of irrigated lands in the State, the Japanese control 458,056 acres, or 11.8 per cent. of the total.

In San Joaquin County there are 130,000 acres of irrigated lands; the Japanese control 69,680 acres. Colusa County, with 70,000 irrigated acres, has 22,435 acres under Japanese control. Placer County has 19,000 acres under irrigation, with Japanese controlling 15,248 acres. Sacramento County, with 80,000 irrigated acres, has 47,646 under the control of Japanese. It is in these counties that the agitation against Japanese land control is strongest.

The Japanese practically control the small fruit and vegetable industries in California. They control both the acreage and the labor in these industries. The following table indicates the extent to which Japanese have gained control of the berry and vegetable business:

CROPS CONTROLLED BY JAPANESE, 1918  
(Japan Agricultural Association.)

	Total Acres.	Acres Controlled by Japanese.	P. C. Controlled by Japanese.
Berries .....	6,500	5,968	91.8
Celery .....	4,000	3,568	89.2
Asparagus ...	12,000	9,927	82.7
Seeds .....	20,000	15,847	79.2
Onions .....	12,112	9,251	76.3
Tomatoes ....	16,000	10,616	66.3
Cantaloupes..	15,000	9,581	63.8
Sugar Beets..	102,949	51,604	50.1

In addition to the crops mentioned in the foregoing table the Japanese control 23.8 per cent. of the green vegetable acreage, 20.8 per cent. of potatoes, 16 per cent. of rice, 13 per cent. of beans and 10 per cent. of the cotton acreage. From 75 to 95 per cent. of the labor in the industries mentioned is furnished by Japanese.

#### JAPANESE EVASIONS OF LAW

The intent of the Alien Land law of 1913 was to prevent aliens who are ineligible to citizenship from owning land in California. They were permitted to lease under restrictions for a period of three years. This law, however, does not prevent American-born children of "ineligible" alien parents from owning land. The Japanese have taken

advantage of this fact, and have bought up much land in the names of their minor children, who are American citizens. The Japanese thus acquire title to land just as though purchased direct by them.

Concerning another method of land ownership practiced by the Japanese the State Board of Control says:

For the purpose of acquiring alien control of land without the limitations imposed by guardianship or the difficulties of reconveyance by minor children the Japanese resorted to the formation of corporations. The law requires that a majority of the stock be held by American citizens. To overcome this provision 51 per cent. of stock is issued to an American citizen, usually the attorney for the corporation or some employe in his office, who acts as trustee for the real owner of the stock, who may be an ineligible alien or a minor child, American-born, of alien parents.

#### THE NEW LAND LAW

To make it impossible for the Japanese to evade the provisions of this law, and, further, to restrict the control of land by Japanese, the people of California adopted an initiative measure at the general election in November, which is far more drastic than the Alien Land law of 1913. This law was fostered by the California Oriental Exclusion League, an organization growing out of a farmers' organization in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys, where the Japanese dominate many communities. This association also urges the Federal Government to cancel the "Gentlemen's Agreement," and proposes an amendment to the Federal Constitution denying the right of suffrage to children whose parents are ineligible to citizenship.

Concerning the legislative proposals of the Oriental Exclusion League, Dr. Sidney L. Gulick says:

It is difficult to see what real gain can be secured by the adoption of all or even of any part of the league's legislative program. It is essentially un-American, reactionary, unjust, dangerous and futile. It not only will

solve no present problems, but it will, on the contrary, render their solution more difficult, and at the same time it creates new ones.

Referring to the proposal to prohibit all leasing of land to Japanese, Dr. Gulick says:

The proposal to prohibit all leasing of land to Asiatics would soon force on the market 554,808 acres. The economic loss to Americans through diminished rentals and land values and through rising prices for garden products is a minor consideration for Californians to think over. The proposal if enacted would force Asiatic farm labor—some 60,000 workers—into the ranks of day laborers. Will there be no problem in connection with 60,000 homeless, wandering, indigent day laborers, who feel that they have been outraged by race prejudice, cultivated and fanned into action by untruthful and unscrupulous political leaders? And is it certain that such legislation may not create serious international tension?

It is true that "unscrupulous political leaders" have fanned the anti-Japanese agitation into a flame. There is grave danger in some Californian localities that there may be reproduced for the Japanese the brutal scenes of mob violence and wholesale destruction of life and property that marked the anti-Chinese demonstrations a few decades ago. The tension is growing keener, and the feeling is rising higher. The situation is more serious and more menacing in its possibilities of international friction than any of the other anti-Japanese episodes.

After reviewing the situation from every angle in his letter to the Secretary of State urging Federal action to avert serious trouble, Governor Stephens said:

It is with great pride that I am able to state that the people of California have borne this situation and seen its developing menace with a patience and self-restraint beyond all praise. California is proud to proclaim to the nation that, despite this social situation, her people have been guilty of no excesses and no indignities upon the Japanese within our borders.

# AUSTRALIA'S LAWS AGAINST ASIATICS

By JAMES A. BURKE

Manager British and Colonial Press, Sydney, Australia.

*Why the Australian people, like those of California, have barred out Japanese labor and cut off the privileges of permanent residence from all Asiatic immigrants—How the "White Australia" policy works after a thoroughgoing trial of twenty years or more*

A USTRALIA has a greater area than the United States (excluding Alaska), yet has a smaller population than New York City. The Commonwealth needs population badly, but future immigrants must be of the right kind, and they must be white. It was only the other day that Australia's inhabitants reached the five-million mark. Today she has 5,260,000, excluding non-European races. These last total 37,789, made up as follows: 22,753 Chinese (one-fourth British born), 5,992 Hindus and other Indian races (4,983 British born), 3,006 Japanese (165 British born), other Asiatics 2,604, Polynesians 2,524 and 427 others. In addition, there are estimated to be over 30,000 Australian aborigines, excluding the natives of Papua and German New Guinea, over which the Commonwealth was given a mandate at Versailles.

## QUESTION OF ALIEN LABOR

In some parts of Australia land is cheap and productive. The coastal districts—where sugar-growing prevails—are the most settled. Wheat is grown three or four hundred miles inland. The yield for 1920, which was just being harvested when this article was written in December, promised to average nearly twenty bushels of wheat to the acre, with patches here and there ranging from forty to eighty bushels of the golden grain, and up to 100 bushels of oats to the acre. The northern portion of Australia, especially the "back-country," is given over to grazing. Inland the hills are rich in minerals. North Queensland, especially, abounds in copper mountains, some of which, however, are not rich enough to work under present conditions and lack of transport.

Labor is Australia's problem. At present

ex-service men are coming in goodly numbers from England, under an assisted payment scheme of immigration, especially to West Australia, the section of the Commonwealth nearest to Europe.

It is asserted that there are parts of Australia which will never be successfully developed, except by colored labor. This argument is applied to the part of the Commonwealth north of the Tropic of Capricorn; in that section, and further north, sugar is most largely cultivated. Some years back these sugar fields were worked by indentured Kanaka labor from the South Sea Islands. The pay was so small, the mortality so high, and attendant abuses so rife, despite more or less close Government supervision, that the people of Australia rose up against what was termed the "slave trade." Notice was given to planters that after a specified time the "White Australia" policy, as it is now called, would be introduced by the Government, and colored labor would be abolished.

This pronouncement brought wails of financial anguish from sugar planters, mill proprietors and owners of "blackbirding" schooners, but all to no purpose. The people were determined to do away with the evil, and they did. But the process was rather expensive. To enable planters and refiners to pay a living wage, they were subsidized by a bonus of £6 (\$30) a ton on all sugar produced. That system has been in force now for years, and has found few objectors, for not many politicians have been bold enough to advocate the abolition of the "White Australia" policy. Yet some of its restrictions are drastic. As an instance, Section 4 of the Commonwealth Franchise act of 1902 provides that:

No aboriginal native of Australia, Asia, Africa, or the islands of the Pacific, except New Zealand, shall be entitled to have his

name placed on the electoral roll, unless so entitled under Section 41 of the Constitution.

#### THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY

In the State of Queensland Chinese aliens are not allowed to employ aborigines or half-castes, while a Northern Territory ordinance (9 of 1918) does not permit any Asiatic to employ an Australian aboriginal. In Papua a recruiting license is not issued to any person who is not a European, i.e., a white man.

The Queensland Land act of 1910 (Section 7) prohibits the subleasing of any land to any alien who fails to pass a dictation test. In the Northern Territory an Asiatic cannot acquire the "fee-simple" of land. In South Australia Asiatics are disqualified from being lessees of irrigation lands. Queensland's Mining act of 1889 (Section 15) disqualifies persons "who, by lineage, belong to any of the Asiatic, African or Polynesian races," from holding a business license, mineral lease or miner's homestead lease, or from being the mortgagee of a miner's homestead lease. No Asiatic is allowed in the Northern Territory (under Commonwealth control) to take out a right on a new goldfield, or even a right for working on a new goldfield, unless the discoverer is an Asiatic; nor is an Asiatic allowed to have any interest in a dredging lease.

#### AGREEMENT NOW IN FORCE

Queensland, being nearest the East, formerly received more Asiatics than any other of the Australian States. The immigrants were employed mainly in the pearl industry, and in gold and tin mining. They and their descendants still work in these industries, but since the adoption of the "White Australia" policy no Japanese or Chinese, whatever their status, are allowed to enter Australia with a view to permanent residence.

Anti-Asiatic legislation began by prohibiting both Chinese and Japanese from working on railways, in licensed factories for making butter, or on sugar plantations, unless they had passed a dictation test. This dictation test was one of the pieces of legislation at which the Japanese took most umbrage. After considerable correspondence in 1904, it was arranged that bona

fide Japanese students, merchants or tourist travelers were to be admitted on production of passports issued by the Government in Japan for twelve months only, which period might be prolonged if the officials were satisfied that the bearer of the passport was genuinely engaged in overseas trade. With this exception, the disabilities placed in the way of Japanese immigration to Australia may be summed up in the phrase "complete exclusion," as the Japanese Consul General puts it in a recent letter to the writer. The same arrangement holds good for Chinese, except that visitors must have their passports viséed by the British Consul at the port of embarkation.

#### CHINESE VS. JAPANESE

Of the two races, the Chinese are the less objectionable. Many years ago the Chinese were unpopular in Australia; today they are rather liked, mainly on account of their honesty in business and general guilelessness. A great number have made sterling citizens, while some have married white women with happy results, their progeny being doctors, lawyers and even members of Parliament.

It is not so with the Japanese. It may be that the native of Japan does not "mix" as well as his yellow brother, or is more boastful and aggressive; at any rate, he is certainly not popular. This may be due to the fact that a section of the press and many of the workers are continually holding up the bogey of the "Japanese peril." Unkind remarks are reprinted in Japanese papers, with more or less caustic comment, and in turn bring forth a rejoinder, so that bad feeling is intensified.

Nevertheless, the Australian is not inhospitable to the alien. We might, indeed, feel justified in claiming that in our attitude toward "colored" residents we show less racial prejudice than is commonly shown to white people in countries dominated by non-white races—much less than is shown to the Englishman in India, to the Australian in Japan, or even to the New Yorker, when he wanders around Harlem Bridge or to 245th Street, by the colored people thereabout. Generally speaking, the Japanese merchant does not meet with such indignities in Australia as befall him in some white countries. He is not usually treated as an inferior in hotels or convey-

ances, although he does not figure much in the commercial travelers' clubs, which loom so large in Australian cities. The Japanese cadets who visit these ports from time to time in training ships are treated kindly, even though many Australians are of opinion that these visits are not to our advantage.

#### EFFECTS OF THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY

Australians may thus hold that in their relations toward people of darker races they are more fortunately circumstanced than the citizens of certain other countries. The cause for this is to be found in the "White Australia" policy, which has been in operation for over twenty years, and has softened rather than embittered any racial prejudice against "colored" people. The entry of large numbers of Asiatic laborers, which the "White Australia" policy has prevented, would have seriously disturbed the labor market, lowered the standard of living, and led to racial troubles such as occur in other countries.

In outlining a justification of their policy, Australians would say, in the first place, that they do not wish to be understood as asserting the superiority of the white race over the advanced races of any other color; they are satisfied to state that there are differences between races, and, without passing judgment, to point out that these differences are important enough to cause grave difficulties in a country in which the differing races attempt to live together.

As evidence of the dangers from races of widely different cultures living together, Australians can point to the experiences of other countries, which almost without exception have been disastrous. Especially bad have been the results in countries where laborers of differing races enter into competition with one another. Instances are to be found today in the United States, in Canada, in South Africa, and in parts of Great Britain, where communities of "colored" people were formed during the war.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THIS POLICY

One of the objections made by critics is that "White Australia" is unduly retarding the development of the country and

doing an injury to the world at large by depriving it of possible resources of food supplies. This view is not wholly correct. It is based (1) on the rate of increase of Australia's population, and (2) on the area which is now, or in the near future is likely to be, kept idle by the "White Australia" policy.

With regard to the first objection, it may be pointed out that, although Australia has only a moderate birth rate, it is one of the healthiest nations in the world, and has a very low death rate. During the five years before the war, Australia's population (including the gain by immigration) was increasing at a rate almost twice as great as that of Japan.

The second objection—that the "White Australia" policy tends to limit the world's food supply—also will not stand examination, even when applied to our tropical areas. Tropical Australia contains 1,150,000 square miles, and temperate Australia 1,825,000 square miles. Over one-third of tropical Australia has a rainfall averaging less than 20 inches; the remainder is blessed with from 20 to 60 inches or more, but this falls during about six months, and for the other half year there is Winter drought. Much of this area is suitable for close pastoral occupation, but not for tropical agriculture. In the region where there is adequate rainfall the white sugar growers have become fully acclimated in a single generation, though they live and work in the hottest and most humid area occupied by white settlers anywhere in the world. The remaining two-thirds of tropical Australia, fit mainly for grazing, already sustain as many cattle as the unseasonal rainfall allows, and will carry sheep later on. Practically the only land that the "White Australia" policy puts out of action is about 50,000 square miles, and we are patriotic enough to believe that this is a good heritage to keep for our white brothers.

#### CHINESE LABOR PREFERABLE

The Japanese, like most people, prefer the choice spots of the earth (as in California), and are not particularly eager to settle anywhere near the equator. It is not in the hot north of Australia, but in the cooler south, that the Japanese invasion is really

to be feared. The Chinese and Indians, on the other hand, if given an opportunity, would settle in tropical Australia in large numbers. Of the two, John Chinaman is to be preferred; he is a better worker, more honest, less rebellious, freer from vice than the Indian. Indians have for years been employed on indentured labor in neighboring Pacific islands—in Fiji, for instance, on sugar plantations—and have not been a great success, either as workmen or as citizens. Of recent years the coolie has imbibed I. W. W. ideas, and is inclined to flout constituted authority. Strikes and riots among them are not uncommon, while they should hold the world's record in Fiji for murder and other crimes which the more docile Chinaman avoids.

There never were many Japanese in Australia. As far back as 1871 their number was only 7; in 1881, 16; 1891, 420, most of them being employed in pearl diving. It was not, however, until 1901 that a correct census was taken. In that year the total was 3,593, Queensland having 2,257 and West Australia 867 of that total. Since the coming of the "White Australia" there has been a gradual diminution of the yellow men. In 1915 the number had dropped to 2,636. After this there was a gradual increase, according to a return recently supplied by the Commonwealth authorities, which gave the number on June 30, 1920, as 3,006. (The Japanese Consul General for Australia on the same date supplied the number to the writer as approximately 2,007 males and 100 females.) More than half of these have been admitted temporarily under indentures as divers in the pearl diving industry. In June last 1,800 came under that heading, while 138 were merchants, admitted under temporary passports.

#### ANTI-JAPANESE SENTIMENT

The main reasons for the anti-Japanese feeling in Australia are that Japan, rightly or wrongly, is regarded as a naval and military menace to the peace of the Pacific; that the Japanese are not honest and straightforward in their business dealings; and that it would be most injudicious to blend Australian and Japanese blood, by marriage or otherwise. There have been many examples of the Japanese lack of business honesty during the war period—matches that would not strike, pencils with

little lead, iron razors, rubber goods that perished quickly, few good clocks, badly constructed bicycles, brushes to which the dreaded anthrax was traced, and innumerable other cases of dishonest dealing. Perhaps what brought to their trading the greatest odium was their gross dishonesty in copying well-known trademarks and names. These unscrupulous methods practically put an end to Japanese trade in Australia, with the result that many Japanese firms went into liquidation and others reduced their staffs.

So that there might be no relaxation of the "White Australia" policy, a resolution was passed last November at the annual meeting of the Federal Council of the Australian Natives' Association, to the effect that the present Aliens Restriction act, which prohibits Asiatics or other "colored" persons from holding proprietary or landed rights in Australia, "be rigidly observed." As this is a very strong patriotic body, there is little chance that the policy of the country will be changed.

The Japanese attitude at the Geneva Conference in reference to the question of race equality has created much interest in Australia, and the action of Australia's representative, Senator Millen, in opposing the opening of the question has been generally endorsed.

It is not generally known that Australians (and presumably all white people) are prohibited from owning land and houses in Japan. In reply to a communication for the purpose of this article, the Japanese Consul General in Australia wrote: "Australians are not permitted to own the freehold of land and houses in Japan, but can lease same for practically an indefinite period." The Japanese, therefore, cannot complain if other nations refuse them freehold rights to property.

**CORRECTION**—Premier William M. Hughes of Australia, acting through his secretary, has expressed a desire to correct certain dispatches published in the United States last year. The statements of which he complains were that a law was passed by both houses of the Australian Parliament imposing a tax of \$500 a head on Asiatic immigrants; that it was sent to the Governor General for signature, but under instructions from the British Foreign Office he refused to sign it, and that Australian officials attempted to collect the tax, but the Japanese, backed by their Consuls, had refused to pay it. The report added that anti-Japanese feeling had

reached a dangerous point, especially in Queensland. Australia was said to be closely following California in her anti-Japanese agitation.

Premier Hughes's secretary, in a recent letter, says that these reports are wholly without basis in fact. The present anti-Japanese agitation in California has produced no effect in Australia that he is aware of. No law imposing a tax on Asiatic immigrants was passed by either house of the Australian Parliament, or even discussed, or so much as suggested; there have been no instructions from the British Government about any such law; there has been no attempt to collect any such tax and no refusal by Japanese

to pay it; nor, according to any information which had reached Premier Hughes's secretary, was anti-Japanese feeling at a dangerous point anywhere in Australia.

Premier E. G. Theodore of Queensland, in a speech at Brisbane on Feb. 3, according to an Associated Press dispatch of that date, declared, however, that any one who doubted that Australians would soon be called upon to defend their homes against Asiatic invasion was living in a fool's paradise. He was further quoted as saying that Asiatic ideals and aspirations were a menace to the ideals of the Australian labor party.

## BOLSHEVIST AIMS IN ASIA

*An Address by G. ZINOVIEV*

President of the Executive Committee of the  
Communist International

*This illuminating speech, delivered before the Congress of Eastern Peoples at Baku last September, is especially valuable for its new light on the Soviet Government's settled policy of stirring up race hatred and revolution in the Near and Far East, especially against Great Britain. It was addressed to an audience of 1,891 delegates, 55 of whom were women and 1,273 professed Communists. Turkish representatives numbered 235, Persians and Parsees 192, Armenians 157, Georgians 100. There were also representatives of the Kirghiz, Kurds, Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Bashkirs, Koreans and other nationalities. Zinoviev's speech is translated from Die Russische Korrespondenz of November, 1920*

**C**OMRADES: It is my task to explain to you what the Communist International thinks about the aims and objects of this congress of Eastern peoples. The idea of calling this congress arose in the course of the preparations for the Second World Congress of the Communist International [held in August, 1920], when some of those who are delegates to this congress arrived at Moscow. Together with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, they addressed themselves to you, peoples of the East, in the name of a large number of countries, and urged you to prepare for this Baku congress, in which we have the good fortune to be engaged at the present moment.

The Second World Congress of the Communist [Third] International was attended by representatives of the communist workers and peasants of thirty-seven European

and American countries; single representatives of the East also took part in that Moscow congress. But today we have succeeded in gathering together a comprehensive body representative of the masses of the laboring population of the whole East, and we believe that the Baku congress will, in the history of the struggle toward freedom, appear as the complement or second half of the work of the congress which has recently ended at Moscow. \* \* \* We believe this congress to be one of the greatest events in history, for it proves not only that the progressive workers and working peasants of Europe and America are awakened, but that we have at last seen the day of the awakening, not of a few, but of tens of thousands, of hundreds of thousands, of millions of the laboring class of the peoples of the East. These peoples form the majority of the world's whole population, and

they alone, therefore, are able to bring the war between capital and labor to a conclusive decision.

Comrades, today's congress has been called by the Communist International, which is a proletarian organization. At the same time our congress is being attended not merely by communists, but also by hundreds of delegates who are not yet members of the Communist Party, who do not profess to belong to any party, and, further, by groups who possibly belong to other parties. But the contradiction is only apparent. The situation is really in entire harmony with the policy, the wishes, the ideals and the aims of the Communist International. The Communist International called the peoples of the East together without asking each person singly: "Are you already a member of the Communist Party?" All we asked was: "Are you a man of labor? Do you belong to the laboring masses? Do you want to put an end to the war between yourself and your brothers? Do you want to organize a fight against the exploiter? That suffices; nothing more is needed; we shall not ask to see your party ticket. We will meet and discuss together the questions which are now agitating the whole world."

#### ORGANIZING THE CLASS WAR

The Second International, even at the height of its power, rested on the principle that "civilized" Europe can and must exercise rule over "barbarian" Asia. The majority of the official Social Democrats (Mensheviks) declared themselves convinced of the necessity of a "progressive" colonial policy as far back as the Stuttgart International Congress of 1907. This was described in Social Democratic phraseology as a humane, benign, mild, civilized colonial policy; in fact, however, the Mensheviks were aiming at supporting the capitalist in his robbery, in the policy which has presented the colonies with syphilis, opium and immoral officers, in the policy which has turned those countries into bourgeois preserves, exploited by them without mercy in every direction. \* \* \* The Communist International said, from the very first day of its existence: "There are four times as many people living in Asia as live in Europe; there are 800,000,000 inhabitants in Asia. We will free all peoples, all who labor, without regard to their

color, without considering whether their skins are white, black or yellow. We will sweep away all exploitation of men by men. Whoever does not grasp that, is no Socialist in our eyes. \* \* \* We stand for the organization of the negro and of all other laboring men, for the organization of all who labor and all who toil, of exhausted humanity against the capitalist, the world's oppressor. \* \* \*

Five per cent. of Englishmen are the biggest property owners in England, and these 5 per cent. not only oppress the remaining English population, but also, in addition, thousands of people of various nationalities, as Indians, Persians, Chinese, &c. Each English capitalist forces about 100 English workers and several hundred workers in the colonies and oppressed countries to drudge for him. The aim of this Congress of Eastern Peoples is, in the first place, to draw attention to that fact, to bring it home to every worker. You must realize it. Every important English capitalist forces not merely dozens and hundreds of English workers to toil for him, but also hundreds and thousands of peasants in Persia, Turkey, India and other countries dependent on English capital. The inference to be drawn is that these 1,500,000,000 of enslaved populations must unite. Then no power in the world will be great enough to force them under the yoke of the robber and the English capitalist. The representatives of the communist workers of the whole world turn to you and offer you their hand in brotherly help in this difficult but necessary struggle. \* \* \*

#### APPEAL TO RACE HATRED

We know that the laboring masses of the East are in part retrograde, though not by their own fault; they cannot read or write, are ignorant, are bound in superstition, believe in the evil spirit, are unable to read any newspapers, do not know what is happening in the world, have not the slightest idea of the most elementary laws of hygiene. Only imperialism's lackeys can laugh at this. It is not the fault of the unhappy Turkish or Persian worker if he can neither read nor write. It is his misfortune. The "civilized" bourgeoisie, while living in Paris or in London, exploits every possible

means of keeping the Indian peasant, the Turkish and Persian workman in a condition of ignorance. The task of the civilized, instructed, organized worker in Europe and America is to help the retrograde laboring population of the East. We ought not to laugh at them, nor think ourselves fine fellows, nor be vaingloriously proud of the fact that we have got beyond the backwardness of the Eastern peasant; we ought to be pained by their ignorance and backwardness, stretch out our hands to help them, and support them in every conceivable way; we must teach them to use arms, and to use them against the white "civilized" animal that crouches in the banks and offices of London and Paris. \* \* \*

Comrades, our Moscow Congress discussed the question whether a socialist revolution could take place in the countries of the Far East before these countries had passed through the capitalist stage. You know that the view which long prevailed was that every country must first go through the period of capitalism, that great factories and great properties would have to arise, that labor would have at all costs first to concentrate in the great cities before socialism could become a live question. We now believe that this is no longer true, from the moment when a single country has succeeded in throwing off the chains of capitalism. Russia has done this \* \* \* and from that moment we are able to say that China, India, Turkey, Persia, Armenia also can and must make a direct fight to get the Soviet system. These countries can and must prepare themselves to be Soviet republics. \* \* \*

And in this connection we put the question to you: What kind of Constitution, what form of organization will there be in the East? We have come to the conclusion that Soviets must be created even where there are no town workers; in these cases we can create Soviet States of working peasants. Not pseudo-Soviets such as are now sometimes being offered to you in Turkey, but real Soviets, in which every working peasant has a vote. I read in the paper called the Red Daghestan the election law which the people of Daghestan are adopting, and I found that the right of voting for the peasant Soviets was only to be given to the honest

working peasant, who does not own above a certain number of cattle. I cannot venture to say whether the number proposed is right or not, but the principle is right. Whoever owns a larger number of cattle or of beasts than is needed for working his own farm and for supporting his family without anxiety, and whoever grows rich on the poverty of others, can have no right of entry to our peasants' Soviets. They must be real Soviets of work, organized by the laboring population, aiming not at the getting of wealth nor at speculation, but at the furtherance of the common good. We must organize such Soviets as do actually express the will of the laboring masses, and we appeal not merely to those who believe in communism, but also to those who are members of no party. \* \* \*

#### UNDERMINING RELIGION

That is why I say that we give patient aid to groups of persons who do not believe in our ideas, who are even opposed to us on some points. In the same way the Soviet Government in Turkey supports Kemal. Never for one moment do we forget that the movement headed by Kemal is not a communist movement. We know it. I have here extracts from the verbatim reports of the first session of the Turkish people's Government at Angora. Kemal himself says that "the Caliph's person is sacred and inviolable." The movement headed by Kemal wants to rescue the Caliph's "sacred" person from the hands of the foe. That is the Turkish Nationalist's point of view. But is it a communist point of view? No. We respect the religious convictions of the masses; we know how to re-educate the masses. It will be the work of years.

We use great caution in approaching the religious convictions of the laboring masses in the East and elsewhere. But at this congress we are bound to tell you that you must not do what the Kemal Government is doing in Turkey; you must not support the power of the Sultans, not even if religious considerations urge you to do so. You must press on, and must not allow yourselves to be pulled back. We believe the Sultan's hour has struck. You must not allow any form of autocratic power to continue; you must destroy, you must annihilate faith in the Sultan; you must struggle to obtain real Soviet organizations. The

Russian peasants also were strong believers in the Czar; but when a true people's revolution broke out there was practically nothing left of this faith in the Czar. The same thing will happen in Turkey and all over the East as soon as a true peasants' revolution shall burst forth over the surface of the black earth. The people will very soon lose faith in their Sultan and in their masters. We say once more, the policy pursued by the present people's Government in Turkey is not the policy of the Communist International, is not our policy; nevertheless, we declare that we are prepared to support any revolutionary fight against the English Government.

#### HATRED FOR ENGLAND

Yes, we array ourselves against the English bourgeoisie; we seize the English imperialist by the throat and tread him underfoot. It is against English capitalism that the worst, the most fatal blow must be dealt. That is so. But at the same time we must educate the laboring masses of the East to hatred, to the will to fight the whole of the rich classes indifferently, whether they be Russians, Jews, Germans, Englishmen or Frenchmen. The great significance of the revolution now starting in the East does not consist in begging the English imperialist to take his feet off the table, for the purpose of then permitting the wealthy Turk to place his feet on it all the more comfortably; no, we will very politely ask all the rich to remove their dirty feet from the table, so that there may be no luxuriousness among us, no boasting, no contempt of the people, no idleness, but that the world may be ruled by the worker's horny hand.

I say that at the present moment we are facing the task of letting loose a real holy war against the English and French capitalist. \* \* \* You know, comrades, the

hundreds of millions which the populations of India number, those populations so mercilessly exploited by English capital. Perhaps you have heard of the latest events. Not long ago we experienced a fresh massacre of Indians on account of a feeble attempt at resistance;\* an unarmed crowd was enticed within the range of machine-gun fire and shot down by grape shot. And while a Parliamentary inquiry commission was sitting to investigate this occurrence, the London newspapers could report a scene which the photographer's art had perpetuated, illustrative of English methods of restoring order in the East; armed English soldiers forcibly making Indians crawl on their stomachs through the streets of the town. Such are the methods of the civilized English imperialists and of their university-trained sons. They send out their officers, so that they may hold a gunbarrel at the Indian's head and force him to crawl along on his stomach to delight the eyes of an English officer. \* \* \*

Comrades, you have heard much during the last few years of a holy war; but you, who are here met together for the first time in a congress of the peoples of the East, must now declare a true holy war against the English and French robber-capitalist. What we must now say is that the hour has struck when the workers of the whole world will know how to rouse tens and hundreds of millions of peasants and to urge them to resistance; when they will know how to arm themselves, will know how to raise a rebellion behind England's back, will know how to set the robbers' house on fire, will know how to poison the existence of every impudent English officer lording it in Turkey, in Persia, in India and in China.

\*The Amritsar episode of 1917, which led to the removal of General Dyer, whose drastic measures to quell the insurrection were officially disapproved.—Ed.

# LENIN DECLARES HIS POLICY

## HIS ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOVIET CONGRESS\*

*Lenin has here undertaken to do what the President of the United States does in his annual message to Congress—to summarize the Government's recent achievements and to outline needed reforms. His announcement of the new policy of granting concessions to foreign capitalists and his program for developing electric power are of special interest*

YOU all know how the Polish landlords and capitalists, egged on by capitalists of Western Europe, insisted on making war on us. Well, the war is over now, and has ended in a peace which is a better peace for us than the one we offered Poland before the war started; the peace preliminaries have been signed; the Entente's policy of intervening against the Soviets is on the point of breaking down.

The number of countries which have made peace with us is constantly increasing. We may say without hesitation that the day of the definite signature of the peace treaty with Poland is at hand. Our temporary setbacks during the Polish war were due to the fact that we had at the same time to fight against Wrangel, the adventurer who received recognition from France and insolent support from the Governments of the west. You are aware of the amazing courage displayed by our Red Army when it struck the final blow at Wrangel. It was thus that an end was put to the war inflicted on us by the White Guards and imperialists in every country. We can now devote ourselves with increased security to our work of economic reconstruction. We must remain on the watch, however, and be prepared to resist any attacks that might come. We must reinforce the fighting capacity of the Red Army.

Some time ago our neighbors read in our peaceful policy a sign of weakness. By now the countries bordering on us must be convinced that, when we display our wish for peace, we are quite ready to fight—if fight we must. In obedience to our principles, we have made peace with a series of our neigh-

bors on the west. There was a fear at one moment that our relations with Lettonia might get worse; all points in dispute, however, seem now to have been regulated, and we may count on resuming commercial relations with Lettonia in the very near future.

In the East we have assisted several nations to secure their individual independence and further to raise the power of the workers; the idea of peasant Soviets has triumphed in the East. We welcome the conclusion, in the near future, of a treaty with Persia, a country which for a long time past has been enslaved by the imperialists. We are also in a position to state that our friendship with Afghanistan, and, above all, with Turkey, continues to develop more and more closely. The friendly relations obtaining between Soviet Russia and Eastern countries will become all the closer in proportion as the world policy of the imperialist powers itself encourages friendship between us and the peoples whom they exploit.

### FOREIGN CONCESSIONS

As regards our relations with England, negotiations are continuing and a commercial agreement seems on the point of being agreed to. The negotiations are being delayed by the fault of English governmental circles; they incline favorably toward a resumption of commercial relations with Russia, a feeling which also prevails among the working masses and even among the English bourgeoisie; but the officials want to prevent any agreement from being made with a Socialist republic. The longer England delays to sign a preliminary agreement, the nearer she comes to being forced to sign a definite treaty with us.

The Soviet Government has already pub-

\*An address delivered before the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held in Moscow in December; published by L'Humanité, Paris, Dec. 31, 1920, and Jan. 2, 3 and 5, 1921.

lished a law on concessions to be made to foreigners; this law may be looked on as one of our most important pieces of legislation. Each concessionary agreement will be sanctioned for a fixed term of years and will be carefully hedged around with restrictions, which will be minutely examined by the congress. I view the concessions as a bait thrown to the capitalist; by their means we shall win over the capitalist to co-operate in and help to reconstruct a Socialist economic system. We shall not be able to look forward to a rapid reorganization of our economic life unless we manage to procure for ourselves the best technical instruments of the capitalist States.

We are approaching a decisive hour. We are about to pass from a state of war to an era of peace and of work. Dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed because it knew how to combine conviction with coercion. Dictatorship of the proletariat has no fear of employing pitiless methods of coercion, for, in employing force, it does so in the name and interests of the workers and the exploited. The workers' experiences with Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel have convinced them that only the rule of the proletariat can save them.

#### PEASANTS HARD TO CONVERT

On the labor front we must still more plainly face a change of conditions. The greater the changes accomplished by us, the more enthusiastic will be the interest felt in these changes by fresh millions of workers. The need for drawing up a new economic scheme, and for restating the principles underlying Russia's economic system, brings us face to face with new problems and new duties. All members of trade unions should share these tasks. This is an entirely fresh departure, unknown under the capitalist régime. Peasant masses and trade union members must be brought to realize plainly that Russia belongs to the workers and peasants. A strong discipline, freely accepted, and spontaneous action by the workers and peasants are conditions essential to carrying out an economic scheme which is unique. Without them there can be no salvation.

We were and we are a country of small peasants; consequently, the change to communism is extraordinarily difficult. The

peasants must be made to share in developing a communist system, if that development is to be hastened. Agricultural output must be increased. We must help the peasants by every means in our power, and we must look on ourselves as their debtors. In handing his grain over to us, the peasant is giving us credit; we shall pay our debt to him by reorganizing our industry. But, in order to reorganize our industry, we must simultaneously reorganize our agriculture. All the People's Commissaries will lay their reports before you during the congress; I merely wish to draw your attention to the results of the campaign undertaken to collect grain. The delivery of grains has doubled each year since 1918; in 1918 we collected 50,000,000 poods of cereals [a pood is 36 pounds]; in 1919, 100,000,000 poods, and in 1920, almost 200,000,000 poods (4,000,000 tons). What we want is 300,000,000 poods a year. We have already set to work with that end in view. We appeal to the workers and peasants to labor unceasingly and to submit themselves to strict discipline. We shall know how to reward the heroes of the labor front no less than others.

The fuel problem is equally important. Thanks to the heroism of the Baku workers, we are receiving a continually increasing supply of naphtha. The output of the Don Basin is growing all the time, and we are able to estimate the output of coal at 50,000,000 poods (1,000,000 tons) instead of one-half that amount. Nor is that all. There is a fresh victory to record in this sphere, namely, the use of hydraulic methods in extracting peat; this simplifies labor; it also permits of the employment of expert workers belonging to that industry.

#### ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

The period allotted for the complete reconstruction of our means of transport had been five years. Thanks to our success on the "transport front," it can be cut down to three years and a half. The reorganization of transport is being carried out according to a program drawn up in the greatest detail. We should have such detailed schemes of work for all branches of our industry, and these schemes should be compared and united into a unique economic system; we still have before us the

task of concentrating all the economic Commissariats into one economic centre. The agenda of the present congress also includes the important question of improving Soviet administration. The extended experience which we have acquired on the subject puts us in a position to take rapid steps toward carrying out the improvements needed.

I also call special attention to the fact that this congress has put the electrification of Soviet Russia on its agenda. We shall see on the platform at future Soviet congresses, besides politicians and officers, also engineers and inventors. We have learned how to manage politics; no one can lead us astray here. Now the object of our policy will be creative work in economic reconstruction and in the increase of our productive forces. When the report of the Electrification Commission has been put before you, you will see what a huge work has been done here. Our agricultural output,

our transport, our economic life generally, cannot be reorganized unless the electrification program is carefully carried out. We must provide the country's industry and agriculture with the technical means which are needed for mass output. Electrification is one of the most essential bases of our production. An electrification scheme, covering several years, has been drawn up. This electrification program requires financing to the extent of a million gold rubles. Naturally, we cannot produce this sum out of the gold we hold; we must therefore cover the expense of electrifying Soviet Russia by concessions and partly by the export of timber. Every electric factory and power station must be a culture centre. When the whole of Russia is covered by a network of electricity centres and powerful electric installations, our Communist organization can serve as a model to the Socialist Europe and Asia of the future.

## MOSCOW'S CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN CAPITALISTS

*Official utterances by Soviet leaders explaining their new policy of granting large industrial monopolies to foreign capital in specified regions, the plan being to develop Russia's manufactures and have the Government share the profits*

A N address by Lenin, printed elsewhere in this issue, announces and summarizes the general principles on which the Bolshevik Government at Moscow has of late undertaken, by means of special concessions, to lure foreign capital into the country for the upbuilding of its crippled industries. The promise of an enormous concession in Kamchatka to an American syndicate headed by Washington B. Vanderlip—a proposed monopoly said to be worth several billions of dollars—is only one of half a dozen or more of the same kind that have been offered to groups of foreign capitalists. Three official documents explaining and defending this new policy, which proposes vast dealings with the very system that Bolshevism seeks to destroy, are presented below.

The first is an interview with Lomov, Vice President of the Supreme Council for

Economics in Soviet Russia. It appeared in the German Socialist organ, Vorwärts, Jan. 6, 1921, and the English translation reads as follows:

Western Europe is at the present moment particularly interested in the concessions question. Soviet Russia is trying to re-establish normal economic relations with Western Europe. We are convinced of our ability to deliver raw products at first hand to devastated Europe, which is lacking them; Soviet Russia is rich in resources, but is unable to utilize them fully owing to lack of machinery and modern plants. If we are anxious to re-establish normal relations with Western Europe the West is equally interested in doing so.

If we were not suffering from a civil war\* our own forces would suffice to re-establish our industrial system; our successful work in the basin of the Donetz proves this; here production is increasing rapidly. In our opinion, however, this process is still developing at too slow a

\*This interview was given prior to the overthrow of General Wrangel in the Crimea.

rate; we, as well as Western Europe, are very much concerned to speed it up.

The events of our revolution have resulted in some want of faith in us on the part of foreign capital, as it is feared that we may take Socialist measures to establish the public ownership of our industry. As to this the decree of the Council of People's Commissaries offers the most absolute guarantee that the businesses of the concessionaires shall not be nationalized, sequestered or confiscated. The Soviet Government is firmly determined to carry out this guarantee with serious regard and without exceptions as long as the foreign agreements and relations remain in force.

The concessions aim at two things: On the one hand, they are designed to remove the effects of the war; on the other, Western Europe is to be supplied with raw material. The concessions will be a support to the peace movement, as it will be in the interests of the concessionaires operating in Russia not to have their work made impossible by outside disturbances. \* \* \* At the same time, both sides will pursue economic aims. Western Europe will be able to make good its lack of raw material, and in part also of manufactured goods; the latter is particularly desirable in the case of Russia. There will be a further advantage for Soviet Russia in that new life will be brought to a whole category of localities, and branches of industry will be developed otherwise doomed to extinction. The American, English and German spirit of progress will know how to rouse these places out of their slumber; this will be of overwhelming importance to us. Europe, in view of a possible reduction of 50 per cent. of her coal output and of 30 per cent. of her metals, will see salvation in obtaining access to the wealth of Russia, and will be able enormously to encourage her own reconstruction, at present progressing but slowly, owing to want of raw material.

Capitalists of various countries will have an opportunity of securing profitable investment for their money. This foreign capital will be used, first of all, in those districts where the greatest difficulties stand in the way of our own work; for instance, in the far distant border districts of Kamchatka, in the vast forest districts on the Obi, Yenissei and Irtisch Rivers, in the metalliferous Siberian plains, &c. Our forests are of almost inexhaustible wealth, for Soviet Russia commands over 150,000,000 desiatins of forest; we are unable to operate these ourselves, and yet they are almost crying out for the woodman's axe. We are anxious that our woods should not be despoiled, but should be operated by the latest scientific methods, so that our workers and peasants may learn really progressive methods of industry.

The more perfect the scientific methods used in exploitation the higher will be the profits accruing to the foreign capitalist. We are ready to pay more to the capitalist in return for any cheapening and improvement in productive methods. Here our interests are identical with capitalist interests; no difficulties will stand in the way of granting tariff-free ingress to machinery and tools for equipping the factories and opera-

tions of the concessionaires in the best possible way.

Thus far no agreements have been signed or completed. Proposals for some concessions have been drawn up and are all but completed. We, on our side, have done everything in our power to translate these proposals into deeds. Certain difficulties are still in the way, but we believe these will soon be removed. Hopes placed in Wrangel or in White Poland played some part, but these have now been put aside and we are convinced that events of this type will no longer count.

#### SIX TYPICAL CONCESSIONS

At the present moment, therefore, there exist no obstacles capable of obstructing the completion of the concessionary agreements. So far the following compacts have been suggested:

1. The concession to the American citizen Goldstone for the manufacture of tanning material out of the Badak plant in Usti-Kamenogorsh-Rayon in the Akmolin district of Siberia. This concession establishes rights over a surface of 50,000 desiatins for twenty-five years in respect of those localities only where this plant is found. The concessionaire acquires the right of building factories and of cultivating the plant; all ownership over the cultivated area accrues to him during the period of concession. Work must be carried on under the strict control of the Soviet power and its representatives. The concessionaire is bound to deliver a minimum of half a million poods (10,000 tons) of the plant extract annually; this amount may be raised after consultation with the Supreme Council of Economics. The product may be partly exported, here again only by permission of the Soviet power, and 10 per cent. of any payment in goods or in foreign exchange falls to the Soviet Government, which retains in this and in all concessions prior rights of buying the finished product.

The Soviet Government pledges itself to supply the concessionaire with raw material and fuels at fixed prices; only on failure to carry out this obligation is the concessionaire entitled to import material from foreign sources. The price of the finished product is to be reckoned at cost of production plus all the additions (sinking fund, equipment, wages of workers and staff, &c.), plus 10 per cent. of this sum as net manufacturer's profit.

2. The second concession in the sphere of manufacture is the proposed concession to the Swedish company, Almar Svensk Elektrisk Aktiebolaget. This concession covers the manufacture of steam piping, generators and other products of the company at Jaroslav. The concessionaires are bound to build a factory within a specified period, to equip it and get it running; they may manufacture more, and must not manufacture less, than the amount proposed by the Soviet Government. Full ownership rights over the factory are conceded to the company for the period of the concession. The Soviet Government binds itself to supply raw material and fuel at fixed prices, to supply housing and food for the workers, and to extend to them the same rights as are enjoyed by workers generally throughout Russia.

3. The third concession, which has already been eagerly discussed in capitalistic circles, is that with the German Dye Manufacturers' Trust for the making of dyes and pharmaceutical products. This concession is being granted for twenty years. The concessionaires are pledged to get running again the Moscow dye works of the Badische Anilin und Soda-fabrik and of the Berlin and other companies. After the expiration of five years the concessionaire is pledged to deliver annually up to 4,600,000 kilograms of dyes and 815,000 kilograms of pharmaceutical products; they enjoy the same rights as all the rest of the concessionaires in regard to unimpeded exchange of commodities against new machinery and new plant; the contract secures 20 per cent. of the profit to the concessionaire.

4. The fourth concession of this type is that for the manufacture of leather to the firm of W. Steinberg. This concession runs for twenty years, and in the course of the first three the concessionaire has to deliver up to 2,000,000 pieces of leather.

5. The concession in Kamchatka to the Vanderlip Syndicate is far advanced and almost completed. The concession contemplates naphtha and coal and also fishery operations. It will run for sixty years. It includes provisions for a rapid geological survey of the territory and for the sinking of trial shafts within the first ten years. As in the forestry concessions, the territories are to be divided up into squares, and the commissary, as well as the Soviet Government, will co-operate in determining their working. The commissary acquires the export rights of the products, and of these the Soviet Government retains a right to 2½ per cent. of the naphtha and coal and 5 per cent. of the fish. They may release these quantities in favor of the commissary; but he then has to pay for them in the corresponding exchange. \* \* \* After thirty-five years the Soviet Government may buy the whole of the concession rights back from the concessionaires by paying the value of the still outstanding capital.

6. The forestry concessions may assume huge dimensions. At present negotiations are already in hand with English nationals about a concession of 18,000,000 desiatins; the contract may be considered concluded in respect of 5,000,000 desiatins. The forestry concessions are to run for sixty or seventy years.

All concessions contemplate the possibility of a breach of agreement by one side or the other. Should the Soviet Government be at fault, it is pledged to reimburse the concessionaire for his outlay. But should it be the concessionaire who willfully neglects to fulfill the terms, and should repeated warnings, and even punishment, prove of no avail, the concession is annulled and the concessionaire has to bear the responsibility.

The second in this group of documents is an article by Karl Radek, a prominent Bolshevik propagandist, contributed to No. 3 of the Internationale Communiste, and republished in L'Humanité (organ of the Lenin communists of France) on Dec. 26, 1920. It is here translated from the latter:

It is undoubtedly a misfortune that the Russian people should be obliged to concede iron ore mines to English, American and French capitalists, for they could themselves make better use of their own iron than to surrender it like a tribute. But as long as they are at war\*, not only are they unable to exploit the mines, but they must even draft their miners into the army. If the dilemma were as follows: Either the institution of a Socialist economic system or war against the world capital obstructing that system there could only be one answer—war. But the dilemma is not of that kind. The question which has to be decided is the furtherance of socialism within the framework of a temporary compromise or war without the furtherance of socialism. As long as the proletariat has not got the upper hand in the greater States, as long as it is not in a position to utilize all world productive forces for the furtherance of socialism, as long as capitalist States continue to exist alongside of proletarian States, so long will these proletarian States be forced to sign compromises, so long will there be neither a pure socialism nor a pure capitalism, but a merely geographical separation between these two forms, so that these States will be forced to grant each other concessions within their respective territories.

Finally, there is the following brief statement which appeared in a December issue of Pravda, the Bolshevik official newspaper, under the title "Bolshevism and Capital":

By means of concessions Western capital can raise its profits to extraordinary heights in the forestry business. In general, Western capital will obtain by the exchange of commodities between Russia and the West only the profits of a trader. But as soon as it undertakes to work the forests itself, besides the trader's profit it will get the so-called contractor's profit, i. e., the profits of the industrial contract will be added to the trading profits. In addition, Western capital will receive another considerable profit, the amount of which can only be guessed at; this profit will be drawn from the ground rent.

The exploitation of the forests is only one example among many; other undertakings will give equal results. The same process will then begin as takes place in regard to the exchange of commodities; as soon as one of the larger countries begins to establish trade relations with us a spirit of envy will at once begin to show itself in other countries; they will be afraid lest the first country command our market and monopolize it. In the same way the signing of the contracts for these concessions with any one of the capitalist powers will spur on the other groups. The concessions which are to be granted to the American financial groups will be capable of arousing in the European bourgeoisie a fear, not altogether groundless, that such concessions may be contributions toward a future strengthening and extension of an American "economic tyranny."

\*This was written before the Wrangel débâcle.

# THE TREATY THAT MADE FINLAND FREE

## Text of Peace Pact With Russia

*After many months of negotiation there was signed at Dorpat, Estonia, on Oct. 14, 1920, a definitive peace treaty between Finland and Soviet Russia. It was ratified by both Governments, and copies were exchanged at Moscow on Dec. 29, making the treaty effective from that date. Only brief summaries of it have appeared in the American press. The pact was executed in Finnish, Russian, Swedish and French. The official Finnish version is here translated into English. The treaty is of special interest as indicating the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the creation of an independent State out of what was formerly a part of imperial Russia.*

THE main importance of the Russo-Finnish Peace Treaty lies in the fact that it recognizes the principle of Finnish independence without any conditions whatsoever. The territory of Finland is extended to the Arctic Ocean by the cession of the Bay of Petsamo (Pechenga) and one-half of the Fisher Peninsula. In this new territory of the north protected harbors, free of ice, are suitable for the establishment of large fisheries. The Pechenga territory, however, is bleak, desolate and sparsely populated, and its scattered inhabitants find great difficulty in eking out a living by fishing, seal-hunting, pasture and the maintenance of reindeer herds. Under Finland these inhabitants will be favored by exemption from military duty and from taxation; Finnish officials will be sent to administer the new district, and the region will be developed by the construction of railways; timber will be exported, and all water power resources will be utilized.

The Karelian population, of Finnish stock, resident in the Soviet territory of Archangel and Olonets in the north, renounced under the treaty all aspiration of reunion with Finland. At the last session held at Dorpat on Oct. 14, 1920, preliminary to the signing of the treaty, however, the Soviet representatives made declarations pledging the Moscow Government to grant full autonomy to the Karelian territory, which was to belong on federative principles to the Russian State. Full minority rights, as laid down under the Bolshevik

legal code, were to be granted to the Finnish population resident in the government of Petrograd. The Bolsheviks pledged themselves not to maintain military forces within the two communes of Repola and Pararjävi for a period of two years, unless this territory was threatened by a Finnish military concentration or by a declaration of war. Amnesty clauses granted full immunity to all Finns who had been active against the Soviet Government and had fled from their homes in Archangel, Olonets and the Government of Petrograd. The Finns bound themselves to liberate Bolshevik political prisoners in Finland. It was agreed that legations should be opened in the respective countries and that military and naval attachés should be admitted according to accepted international usage.

Other features of the treaty are the neutralization of the Bay of Finland, mutual free traffic on the rivers and canals of each country, an exchange of ships, the freeing of Finland from responsibility for former Russian debts, and mutual free transit of goods over the territory of the other contracting nation.

The leaders of the "Red" rebellion in Finland in 1918 are not liberated. Finland is bound to admit a Bolshevik legation and to provide quarters for it, but reserves the right to control the entrance into the country of whatever other elements she chooses. The Soviet Government suggested the choice of the Bolshevik leader Behrvin—one of the chief delegates at the Dorpat Conference

—as the Soviet representative in Finland, and the latter country accepted this choice. A party of Bolshevik emissaries, including a representative of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, sent to inspect the buildings to be assigned to the legation, and a delegate of the Foreign Trade Council, arrived at the Finnish frontier on Jan. 14.

The full text of the Peace Treaty is as follows:

**Preamble**—The Government of the Finnish Republic and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic, in view of the fact that Finland in the year 1917 declared itself an independent State, and that Russia has recognized that the State of Finland is not to be bound by the limits of the Grand Duchy of Finland and is a sovereign State, and desiring to put an end to the war that subsequently broke out between the two States, to create permanent peaceful relations between them, and to settle definitely the relations growing out of the former union between Finland and Russia, have decided to enter into an agreement to that effect and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries for this purpose:

For the Government of the Finnish Republic—Juho Kusti Paasikivi, Juho Heikki Vennola, Alexander Frey, Karl Rudolph Walden, Vaino Tanner, Vaino Voionmaa and Vaino Gabriel Kivilinna.

For the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic—Ivan Antonovich Behrzin, Plato Mikhailovich Kerzhentsev and Nikolai Sergeyevich Tihmeniev;

Who, after meeting in the city of Dorpat and after an exchange of credentials which were found in good order and in proper form, have agreed as follows:

**ARTICLE 1**—From the coming into force of the present treaty of peace the state of war between the contracting States will terminate and both powers undertake to maintain mutual peace and good neighborly relations.

**ARTICLE 2**—The boundary between Finland and Russia shall run:

1. Dividing the Vaisal bay in two, to the point of the eastern promontory at the bottom of the bay (approximately 69 degrees 57 minutes latitude and 31 degrees 58 minutes longitude); thence along the meridian in a southerly direction until it cuts the northern chain of the lakes (approximately 69 degrees 55 minutes latitude); thence in a southeasterly direction to the meridian line at 32 degrees longitude (approximately 69 degrees 51 minutes latitude) running as far as possible along the chain of the Tshervyaniya lakes; thence to a point situated at 69 degrees 46 minutes latitude

and 32 degrees 6 minutes longitude; thence dividing in two the isthmus between the bays Tuumanki fjord (Bolshaya-Volovkovaya-Guba) and Oserko fjord projecting farthest into it, to a point situated in the centre of the neck of land between the mainland and the Sredni Peninsula (69 degrees 39 minutes latitude and 31 degrees 47 minutes longitude); and thence in a straight line to the boundary mark No. 90 of the mountain Korvatunturi near Jaurijärvi Lake, hitherto existing boundary between Finland and Russia.

2. From the Korvatunturi boundary mark No. 90 near Jaurijärvi Lake to Lake Ladoga and across it, and across the Isthmus of Karelia along the hitherto existing boundary between Finland and Russia to the point where this boundary meets the Gulf of Finland.

*Note 1.* The islands named Heinäsaaret (Ainovskie estrova) and Kiisaaret shall be ceded to Finland.

*Note 2.* The boundary described in this article is indicated by a red line on maps appended to this treaty of peace, namely, on Russian nautical chart No. 1279 and on a land map. With the direction of these maps the boundaries mentioned in the first paragraph of this article must be traced on the spot, having regard, when necessary, to the natural conditions. In the case of any discrepancies between the text of the treaty and the nautical chart, the latter shall have decisive significance in so far as the Kalastaja (Fishers') and Sredni Peninsulas are concerned, but as to the rest of the boundary the text will be final.

*Note 3.* All longitudes are calculated from Greenwich.

**ARTICLE 3**—The extent of the territorial waters of the contracting powers is four nautical miles from the shore, or, where there is an archipelago, from the farthest island or skerry rising above the level of the sea.

From this the following exceptions are made:

1. From the point where the land boundary between Finland and Russia reaches the Gulf of Finland to the meridian of the Styrssud Lighthouse, the extent of the territorial waters of Finland shall be one and one-half nautical miles, its boundary running at the beginning along the parallel.

From a point on the meridian of the Styrssud Lighthouse, latitude 60 degrees 8 minutes, the boundary of the territorial waters of Finland shall run along a line which connects this point with a point south of Seitskär, latitude 59 degrees 58 minutes and longitude 28 degrees 24 minutes, to the point where this line cuts the boundary of Finnish territorial waters of four nautical miles, west of the Styrssud meridian.

2. From a point situated on the meridian of the southern extremity of the Island of Hogland, one nautical mile south of the said extremity, the boundary of the territorial waters of Finland shall run in two straight lines, one of which runs in a direction of 61 degrees and the other at 28 degrees 8 seconds, until these lines cut the boundary of the four-nautical-mile territorial waters of the Island of Hogland.

3. The islands belonging to Finland outside the continuous territorial waters of Finland

shall have surrounding territorial waters three nautical miles in extent.

From this, however, the following exceptions are made:

South of the islands of Seitskär and Lavaanäri the boundary of the territorial waters of Finland shall run through the following points:

1. Latitude 60 degrees 5 seconds and longitude 28 degrees 31 minutes.
2. Latitude 59 degrees 58 minutes and longitude 28 degrees 24 minutes.
3. Latitude 59 degrees 58 minutes and longitude 27 degrees 55 minutes.
4. Latitude 59 degrees 54 minutes and longitude 27 degrees 52 minutes.

From a point situated on the meridian of the northern extremity of the Stora Tyterskär Island, three nautical miles north of this extremity, the boundary of the territorial waters of Finland shall run in a straight line through a point on the meridian of the northern extremity of Rödskär, one nautical mile north of this extremity, to the point where this line cuts the boundary of the three nautical mile territorial waters of Rödskär.

4. Finland does not oppose nor will she in the future oppose the boundary of Russian territorial waters in the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland running as follows:

Along the boundary of the territorial waters of Finland, beginning at the termination of the land boundary between Finland and Russia on the coast of the Gulf of Finland to a point on the meridian of the Styrsudd Lighthouse, latitude 60 degrees 8 minutes and 9 seconds; thence to a point south of Seitskär, latitude 59 degrees 58 minutes 8 seconds and longitude 20 degrees 24 minutes 5 seconds; thence to a point in latitude 59 degrees 58 minutes and longitude 27 degrees 55 minutes; thence toward the beacon of Vigrun until the line thus drawn cuts the general boundary of the Russian four-nautical-mile territorial waters, and thence along this boundary.

**Note 1.** The boundaries of all these territorial waters are shown on Russian nautical charts Nos. 1492 and 1476, appended to the present treaty. In case of any discrepancies between the text and the charts, the charts shall be final.

**Note 2.** All longitudes are calculated from Greenwich.

**ARTICLE 4**—The territory of Pechenga, being bounded as follows: In the southeast and east by the boundary line mentioned in Paragraph 1 of Article 2; in the west by the hitherto existing frontier between Russia and Finland from the Körvatunturi boundary mark No. 90 near the Jaurijärvi Lake, to the boundary mark of the three countries, No. 94, where the frontiers of Finland, Russia and Norway meet; and in the northwest by the hitherto existing frontier between Russia and Norway; shall, together with its territorial waters, immediately upon coming into force of the present treaty, be ceded by Russia to Finland forever to be owned by Finland with full rights of sovereignty, and Russia renounces in favor of Finland all her rights

and title over the territory thus ceded. Russia shall withdraw her troops from the Pechenga territory within forty-five days from the coming into force of the present treaty.



Map of Finland with approximate boundaries fixed by the Russo-Finnish peace treaty of Oct. 14, 1920. The black area shows the Pechenga district, which gives the Finns an outlet on the Arctic Ocean

**ARTICLE 5**—During the month following the going into effect of this treaty of peace the Governments of Finland and Russia shall select two members each for a special commission which shall, within a period of nine months, perform the surveying of boundary marks as set forth in Paragraph 1, Article 2.

**ARTICLE 6**—Finland binds itself not to keep any warships or other armed vessels in the waters of the Arctic Ocean owned by it, not including armed vessels of less than 100 tons each, which Finland may keep without limit, and not more than fifteen warships or other armed vessels of not more than 400 tons each. Finland further binds itself not to keep in the waters aforementioned any submarines or any armed airplanes.

Finland also binds itself not to build on this coast naval harbors, naval bases or naval repair yards larger in scope than the aforementioned vessels and their arming make necessary.

**ARTICLE 7**—Each contracting party hereby grants to the citizens of the other contracting party the right to fish and to ply freely with fishing craft in the territorial waters on the coast of the Arctic Ocean relinquished to Finland, as well as in the territorial waters off the

northern and eastern shores of the Fishers' Peninsula (Kalastaya Peninsula), which remains the property of Russia as far as Sharapev Point.

In the coast territory mentioned in the foregoing paragraph the citizens of both States shall have the right to land and to build necessary shelters and storage sheds, as well as other buildings and establishments necessary for carrying on fishing and the dressing of fish.

The contracting parties hereby agree to draw up a special agreement, after the peace treaty goes into effect, covering the conditions and regulations governing fishing and the plying of fishing craft in the territorial waters off the coast mentioned in the first paragraph.

**ARTICLE 8—1.** Free passage through the Pechenga district to Norway and back is granted to the State of Russia and to Russian citizens.

4. Complying with the general regulations now in effect, unarmed Russian airplanes shall have the right to carry on aerial transportation between Russia and Norway over the territory of Pechenga.

5. The routes of transit on which travel and transportation of goods from Russia to Norway—and vice versa—through the Pechenga district are permitted without hindrance, and the detailed conditions for carrying out the regulations mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, as well as the method of organizing the consular representation of Russia in the Pechenga territory, shall be defined in a special agreement to be drawn up between Finland and Russia after the coming into effect of the treaty of peace.

**ARTICLE 9—**Russian citizens living in the Pechenga district shall, without further action, become citizens of Finland, with the exception, however, that those who have passed the age of 18 years shall have the right to choose Russian citizenship within one year after the going into effect of the treaty of peace. The husband shall make the choice for his wife, providing no agreement to the contrary has been made between them, and parents for their children under 18 years old. Persons choosing Russian citizenship may, during the following year, freely move away from the territory and transport with them all their chattels free of all customs and export duties. Such persons shall retain all their rights in real property which they leave in the territory relinquished to Finland.

**ARTICLE 10—**Within forty-five days after the coming into effect of the treaty of peace Finland shall remove her troops from the communes of Repola and Porajärvi, which shall be restored to the State of Russia and shall be annexed to the East-Karelian autonomous district formed by the Karelian population of the Governments (administrative districts) of Archangel and Olonetz, now enjoying the right of national self-determination.

**ARTICLE 11—**Referring to the more definite conditions for the annexation of the communes of Repola and Porajärvi to the autonomous East-Karelian district, as mentioned in the foregoing article, the following rules have been agreed upon for the benefit of the local population:

1. Residents of these communes shall receive full amnesty in accordance with Article 35 of this treaty.

2. The maintenance of local public peace in the territory of the communes during the two years following the ratification of this treaty shall be left to a militia organized by the local population.

3. There shall be guaranteed to the residents of the communes the right of ownership of all their personal belongings within the communes, as well as the right freely to control and use the estates cultivated by them, and other real estate in their possession, within the limits of the laws in effect in the autonomous East-Karelian territory.

4. Any resident of these communes who so desires shall have the right, within one year



Shaded area shows new territory granted to Finland by Soviet Russia, giving her access to the ice-free port of Pechenga, a concession of special importance in view of the fact that all her Baltic ports are frozen up in Winter

2. Goods transported from Russia to Norway through the territory of Pechenga, as well as food transported through the same territory from Norway to Russia, shall be exempt from all inspection and control, except such control as is necessary for arranging through traffic. And no customs duties, transit or other charges shall be collected on these goods. Supervision of the above-mentioned goods in transit shall be permitted only in the form established in international transportation in similar cases.

3. Russian citizens traveling through the Pechenga district to Norway and from Norway back to Russia shall be entitled to pass through freely upon passports issued by the proper Russian officials.

subsequent to the coming into effect of the peace treaty, freely to move away from Russia. Persons moving away from Russia in this way are entitled to carry away with them all their personal belongings and to retain all their rights in the real property they leave in the communes, subject to the limitations of the laws in effect in the autonomous East-Karelian Territory.

**ARTICLE 5.** Finnish citizens and Finnish companies having in their possession contracts for timber cutting made prior to June 1, 1920, shall retain the right, during one year after the coming into effect of the peace treaty, to carry out in the communes mentioned the terms of their contracts in reference to the cutting of timber and to carry away the timber so cut.

**ARTICLE 12.**—The contracting parties support in principle the neutralization of the Gulf of Finland and of the entire Baltic Sea, and pledge themselves to co-operate for the realization of this aim.

**ARTICLE 13.**—Finland shall neutralize, in a military sense, the following islands belonging to it in the Gulf of Finland: Someri, Narvi, Pennisaari, Lavansaari, Suuri Tytärsaari, Pieni Tytärsaari and Riuskeri (Rödskär). This military neutralization shall provide that no forts, batteries, military observation stations, wireless stations of a power exceeding one-half kilowatt, military ports or naval bases shall be constructed or located upon these islands, nor shall any stores of military property or supplies be maintained there or any troops be stationed there, except those necessary for the maintenance of public order. Finland, however, is entitled to maintain military observation stations on the Islands of Someri and Narvi.

**ARTICLE 14.**—Finland shall, immediately after the coming into effect of the treaty of peace, begin the military neutralization of the Island of Hogland under an international guarantee. The neutralization shall provide that no forts, batteries, radio stations of greater strength than one kilowatt, war harbors, naval stations, nor stores of military supplies shall be constructed or located upon this island, and that no more troops than are necessary for the maintenance of public order shall be stationed there. Russia pledges herself to support the obtaining of the aforementioned international guarantee.

**ARTICLE 15.**—Finland shall, within three months after the coming into effect of the peace treaty, remove the locks of all cannon, all aiming and directing apparatus and munitions from the Forts of Ino and Puumala, and shall demolish these forts within one year after the coming into effect of the peace treaty. Finland pledges herself not to build on the coast between Styrsudd and Inonniemi, within twenty kilometers of the shore, and armored towers or batteries with equipment making it possible to fire across the boundaries of the Finnish territorial waters, or on the coast between Inonniemi and Rajajoki River, within twenty kilometers of the shore, any batteries the range of which extends across the boundaries of the Finnish territorial waters.

**ARTICLE 16.**—The contracting parties pledge themselves not to maintain on Lake Ladoga or

its coasts, on the rivers flowing into the Ladoga River, on the canals tributary to it, or on the River Neva as far as the Ivanovski Rapids [Ivanovski-Porog] any military fortifications serving offensive purposes. War vessels, however, of not more than 100 tons each, and not provided with guns of more than forty-seven millimeters in calibre, may be maintained, as well as naval stations of a corresponding size. Russia, however, shall have the right to bring war vessels into its internal waters through the canals on the southern coast of Lake Ladoga, or, in case traffic through the canals is blocked, through the southern part of Lake Ladoga.

**ARTICLE 17.**—Russia hereby grants unobstructed passage to Finnish trading and freight vessels on the Neva between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga on the same conditions as Russian vessels. These vessels, however, shall not transport war materials or military supplies. The contracting parties agree, in case either party so demands, to begin, within one year after such demand is made, negotiations for drawing up a treaty defining the conditions set forth in this article. This, however, shall not prevent the use of the right herein granted.

**ARTICLE 18.**—The height of the water in the Ladoga shall not be changed without a pre-arranged agreement between Finland and Russia.

**ARTICLE 19.**—Questions concerning customs inspection, fishing, the care of navigation establishments, the maintenance of order beyond the territorial waters of the Gulf of Finland, the sweeping of this part of the Gulf of Finland free of mines, the unification of the pilot service and other similar questions shall be left for the consideration of one or more mixed Finnish-Russian commissions.

**ARTICLE 20.**—The contracting parties shall without delay, after the coming into effect of the peace treaty, undertake to formulate an agreement establishing passport and customs regulations and the general organization of frontier trading on the Isthmus of Karelia for the purpose of satisfying local conditions and the practical needs of both sides.

Frontier traffic on the other parts of the Finnish-Russian frontier shall also be arranged by means of special agreements.

After the peace treaty has come into effect a mixed commission shall be appointed immediately to draw up a proposal for the adjustment of the relations mentioned above.

**ARTICLE 21.**—The contracting parties agree to begin negotiations, immediately after the coming into effect of the peace treaty, for an arrangement covering the transportation and rafting of timber on the waters running from the territory of one of the signatories of the treaty to the territory of the other. This agreement must be based upon the following principles: Transportation and rafting in such waters are permitted to both sides without hindrance, as well across the frontiers as within the territory of the contracting parties, as far as the sea; and regarding rafting in particular the citizens of the States that are parties to the treaty receive the rights of the most favored nation.

The contracting parties will also begin negotiations for the purpose of effecting an agreement as to the maintenance of a main channel for passage, as well as to the regulation of fishing, and of taking steps that will advance pisciculture in the waters mentioned in the preceding paragraph and also in the waters adjacent to the frontier between the contracting parties.

**ARTICLE 22**—The property of the Russian State and State institutions in Finland is declared to be the exclusive property of the Finnish State, without compensation. Likewise the property of the Finnish State or State institutions in Russia is declared to be the exclusive property of the Russian State, without compensation.

N. B.—Both contracting parties retain for themselves three pieces of city real estate, with the land and buildings, of their former State property for diplomatic and consular service.

**ARTICLE 23**—The Finnish Government agrees to deliver, immediately after the coming into effect of the peace treaty, to the Russian State the Russian ships lying within its boundaries or used by it, which were left there in the year 1918, according to a list appended to this treaty.

If private persons or companies present any claims concerning ships delivered to the Russian State, the Russian Government frees Finland from any responsibility for the delivery of these ships to Russia and agrees to assume the responsibility of settling all claims which may possibly be presented to the Finnish Government. The Russian Government undertakes to settle the question of the ownership of these ships, so all such claims should be presented to it.

The Russian Government agrees to return to their former owners all ships owned by Finnish citizens, or by companies enjoying the right of domicile in Finland, which were confiscated by the Russian Government during the World War without any compensation to their owners, as well as Finnish ships which have become the property of the Russian State without compensation. The ships mentioned in this clause are named in a list appended to the Peace Treaty.

**ARTICLE 24**—Both contracting parties renounce all claims for the payment of war expenditures. Finland does not share in the payment of expenditures made by Russia because of the World War of 1914-18.

**ARTICLE 25**—Neither contracting party is responsible for the State debts or other obligations incurred by the other party.

**ARTICLE 26**—The debts and other obligations of the Russian State and State institutions to the Finnish State and to the Bank of Finland, as well as the debts and other obligations of the Finnish State and State institutions to the Russian State and State institutions are declared to be mutually liquidated. Therefore the contract regarding the supplying of grain made between the Finnish and Russian Governments in 1917, as well as the agreement concerning rates of exchange made in the same year between the Bank of Finland and the Russian Credit Bureau is considered null and void.

**ARTICLE 27**—Russia recognizes that Finland is not responsible for the losses of ships or other property suffered in Finland by citizens or companies of a third power due to the acts of Russian officials during the World War, before Finland became independent. Claims of this nature must be submitted to the Russian Government.

**ARTICLE 28**—Finnish citizens and companies or associations enjoying right of domicile in Finland have, in regard to their property in Russia as well as to their claims and other demands upon the Russian State or its State institutions, the same rights and privileges as Russia has granted, or will grant, to the citizens of the most-favored nation.

**ARTICLE 29**—The contracting parties agree immediately to return the archives and documents of public offices and institutions which are in their territory and which relate exclusively, or chiefly, to the other contracting party or its history.

In consequence hereof the Russian Government will also deliver to the Finnish Government the archives of the State Secretariat of the former Grand Duchy of Finland, with the exception, however, that the Russian Government retains for itself those documents of these archives that relate exclusively, or chiefly, to Russia or its history. The Finnish Government shall have the right to make copies of such documents passing into possession of the Russian Government.

The Russian Government shall deliver to the Finnish Government copies of the latest topographical and hydrographical charts of Finland, as well as materials concerning the unfinished trigonometrical survey work on Finnish territory, the charts and material of which are in the possession of the Russian Government.

**ARTICLE 30**—The Finnish Government agrees to reserve in the Halila Sanatorium in the Commune of Unsikiorkko half of the sick-beds for the inhabitants of Petrograd and vicinity for a period of ten years under the same conditions that apply to Finnish citizens.

**ARTICLE 31**—After the coming into effect of the present peace treaty economic relations shall be renewed between the contracting parties. For this purpose the contracting parties shall appoint, immediately after the coming into effect of the Peace Treaty, a commission consisting of representatives of both States to draft a plan for arranging the commercial relations between the two countries and for effecting a commercial agreement.

**ARTICLE 32**—Until the conclusion of a commercial agreement, the following temporary provisions shall be observed in the commercial relations between Finland and Russia, each of the contracting parties having the right to give six months' notice to the other party of the termination of this agreement:

1. The carriage of goods in transit through the territory of the contracting parties shall be allowed on all transportation lines open for through traffic, or on such transportation lines opened in the future, observing the rules laid down for the organization of traffic, for the capacity of the traffic transit facilities, for the

satisfaction of the traffic needs of their own countries and for the general safety.

**3** Freight rates and other fees levied on the goods in transit, or on goods carried on the State railroads or State ships, shall not be higher than the rates for the same kind of goods in internal transportation. Other fees levied on these goods shall be in accordance with the principle of the most favored nation. If the freight rates for transporting domestic goods in Russia are discontinued, the rates on goods in transit from Finland shall not be higher than those charged for the goods in transit of the most favored nation.

**3** Freight rates for goods transported from one country to the other shall not be higher—nor shall there be any other transportation fees—than those charged for the domestic transportation of the same kind of goods. If the freight rates for transporting domestic goods in Russia are discontinued, the freight rates and other fees for Finnish goods shall not be higher than those charged for the goods of the most favored nation.

**4** Prohibitive measures concerning imports, exports or transit are allowable only when based upon legislation concerning public safety, public health, alcoholic liquors and the adjustment of the economic life of the nation in question.

**5** The contracting parties reserve for themselves the right of forming monopolies in certain commercial and industrial fields.

**6** The freight and passenger vessels of the contracting parties, under the condition of complying with the regulations now in force in the respective countries, or that may be enacted in the future, covering the vessels of each country, as well as with the regulations and ordinances necessary for the maintenance of public safety or for supervision of the customs service, are entitled to enter all the ports of the other country, to use the harbor facilities and to proceed through the territorial and inland waters, rivers and canals of the other country which have been opened, or may be opened in the future for the vessels of the country concerned. Charges imposed upon the vessels of the other country and their cargoes, as well as fees for using the harbor establishments, shall not be higher than the corresponding charges levied upon the vessels of the most favored nation and their cargoes. An exception may be made to these regulations in the case of the traffic of coastal vessels and fishing craft. The traffic between Baltic and other regular Russian frontier ports and inland harbors will not be regarded as coastal traffic. Russian trading and passenger vessels will be allowed free passage in all channels of traffic within Finnish territory open to Finnish vessels, under condition of complying with the piloting regulations in force in Finland covering foreign vessels.

**7** Finnish raw materials and goods of domestic manufacture are freed of all customs and other import duties when exported to Russia.

**ARTICLE 33**—Immediately after the coming into effect of the present peace treaty the contracting parties will proceed to take the measures necessary to regulate the railroad traffic from Finland to Russia and from Russia

to Finland to and from stations between Rajajoki and Petrograd, including the stations in Petrograd, and to begin negotiations for the purpose of uniting the railroad systems of the two countries and effecting a direct connection between the two countries.

**ARTICLE 34**—Postal and telegraph communication between Finland and Russia shall be renewed after the coming into effect of the peace treaty, and the contracting parties shall enter into a separate agreement covering such renewal. The Finnish Government will not place any obstacles in the way of an arrangement whereby the Russian State shall receive the exclusive use, until the end of the year 1946, for the purpose of telegraphic communication, of the three direct telegraph lines (formerly numbered 13, 60 and 42) which pass through Finnish territory from Rajajoki to Nystad, connecting Petrograd with Stockholm, Newcastle and Fredericia, and which the Finnish Government, by an agreement dated Jan. 9, 1920, transferred to the Great Northern Telegraph Company ["Det Stora Nordiske Telegraf Selskabet"] to be used by it for telegraphic communication with Russia, under the condition that the provision of said agreement regarding the arrangement of telegraphic communication be complied with. The Russian Government will remit to the Finnish State all the transit charges to Finland as an independent State, in accordance with the regulations contained in the manual of the International Telegraph Association and the rules and regulations attached thereto, until these charges become payable by the sender on the basis of an agreement between the respective States. The Russian State will also retain for the same period of time the rights which it possesses, on the strength of an agreement made with the Great Northern Telegraph Company to two cables running from Nystad to Grisslehamn and maintaining direct telegraphic connection with Sweden.

**ARTICLE 35**—Finnish citizens living in Russia and Russian citizens living in Finland are to be allowed to return home after the ratification of the peace treaty unless they have been arrested in the other country for felonies.

All prisoners of war of the contracting parties shall be repatriated as soon as possible. The contracting parties will determine, in a separate agreement, the order in which such repatriation is to be effected.

Other citizens of the respective States who have been detained or confined on account of the state of war, or for political reasons, shall be liberated at once and repatriated as soon as possible.

Any Finnish or Russian citizen upon whom a sentence has been passed before the signing of this peace treaty for a political offense committed in favor of one of the contracting parties or because he had connections with the armies or the Governmental organs of the other contracting party, or because he committed a punishable act for the purpose of aiding the right of national self-determination, shall be freed from suffering any further punishment and be liberated at once. If he is under indictment or under arrest for such an offense, but has not

Lester  
M.Y.  
ONLY

yet been tried and sentenced, or if he has not yet been indicted, the right of indictment shall be annulled, whether he be within or without the borders of the country in question, and in the future no such indictment shall be resorted to. If he has, either in addition or exclusively, been guilty of any offense against the prevailing political or social order of his own country and has fled to the territory of the other contracting party, he shall enjoy the amnesty proclaimed in his home country covering such offenses to the same extent as those remaining in his home country who have been indicted and sentenced.

**ARTICLE 36**—The diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties shall be arranged immediately after the coming into effect of the peace treaty. After the treaty has gone into effect the contracting parties shall proceed to draw up an agreement covering the consular service.

**ARTICLE 37**—In order to carry out the present peace treaty, as well as to settle any questions of public or private law that may develop from that treaty, a Finnish-Russian mixed commission shall be created immediately after the coming into effect of said treaty, which shall be authorized to create sub-committees to deal with territorial questions, to arrange economic relations, to exchange prisoners of war and refugees and to handle other necessary questions. The

composition and working program of the commission mentioned in this article shall be determined by an agreement to be effected later on. The functions, privileges and duties of each sub-committee shall be determined by separate regulations to be approved by the commission. Whenever no decision is arrived at in the sub-committees on account of a tie, the question shall be submitted to a plenary session of the commission for decision. If there is also a tie in the commission, the question shall be submitted to the Governments for settlement.

**ARTICLE 38**—Copies of this treaty have been made in the Finnish, Swedish and Russian languages, and the texts of all these have the same validity. Concurrent with the exchange of ratified copies, the contracting parties shall sign the French text, which also is authentic.

**ARTICLE 39**—This peace treaty has to be ratified. The exchange of the ratified copies shall take place in Moscow. The treaty shall become legally valid immediately after the exchange of the ratified copies. In witness thereof the delegates of both contracting parties have set their hands to this peace treaty and attached their seals thereto. The original has been drawn in two copies in each language and signed at Dorpat, Oct. 14, 1920.

[Signatures of Plenipotentiaries named in Preamble.]

## THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN FRANCE

*Effects of his novel experience in meeting white people who had no prejudice against his race*

WHEN the American negro soldier fought in France he found himself making armed war against white men for almost the first time in history. For the first time he guarded white prisoners with shotted and bayoneted gun. For the first time he was called upon to occupy the cities of a white nation. The Germans furiously upbraided the Allies for bringing in colored troops to dominate a white people; but the negroes did their duty, and, according to official reports, did not abuse their power; their departure was orderly and unmarked by looting or violence. When citations and war crosses were distributed the black soldiers who had done heroic acts got their share of the honors.

One cause of bitterness remained, however, and pursued them through France: the race prejudice of white Americans. Such, at least, is the indictment set forth in

detail in a book entitled "Two Women With the American Expeditionary Forces," by Addie W. Hunton and Kathryn M. Johnson. These two women, who tell the story of their experiences on French soil, were attached to the relief organization of the Y. M. C. A. Very few colored women were sent abroad by the association. For a long time there were only three of them to care for the needs of thousands of black soldiers. Later sixteen others arrived.

No colored men had been admitted to West Point, and none had been admitted to Annapolis for a number of years, but Wilberforce University, a colored school, had maintained a military department, and some sixty-five graduates or undergraduates of this college received commissions as officers during the war. The general lack of training, however, became a problem. Those camps which gave six weeks' training

to white men did not wish to admit the black men. It was finally decided to establish a training camp at Des Moines, Iowa, where about 1,100 men enrolled for the three months' course. Over 600 received commissions as Second Lieutenants, First Lieutenants, or Captains. Most of these were college graduates, and were declared to be men of a high type. The new officers were assigned to the Ninety-second Division under Major General Ballou, who had charge of the training school at Des Moines. The authors of the above-mentioned book charge that unjust discrimination in this General's order, known as Bulletin No. 35, issued before he took his colored division to France, "operated in no small degree to destroy his influence with his men, and cause a humiliation of spirit among them which would take away whatever desire they might have had to lay down their lives that democracy might live." In this order the black members of the command were urged not to go "where their presence was not desired"—in theatres, for instance. The writers emphasize the bad moral effect of this order upon men who were being sent to another country to fight for the preservation of the very privileges that were being denied to them.

After their arrival in France the handicap of race discrimination continued unabated, so far as white Americans were concerned. As an example of the humiliations to which they were subjected, the authors cite this incident:

While white American soldiers were permitted to go freely about the towns, the great mass of colored American soldiers saw these towns, for the most part, only as they marched in line to and from the docks. Passes for them were oftener than otherwise as hard to secure as American gold. Always they were aware of some case of cruel injustice for which there seemed absolutely no redress. \* \* \*

Even a short outing might be robbed of its pleasure. How well we remember a company that had been granted a week-end leave as a reward for exceptional work. They were going to a neighboring Summer resort—a miniature Coney Island. It had been arranged for them to tent on the beach. Just like children, they made us listen to all their enthusiastic plans and dreams of this outing. They went, but came back dumb in the despair of outraged truth and justice. A runner had preceded them,

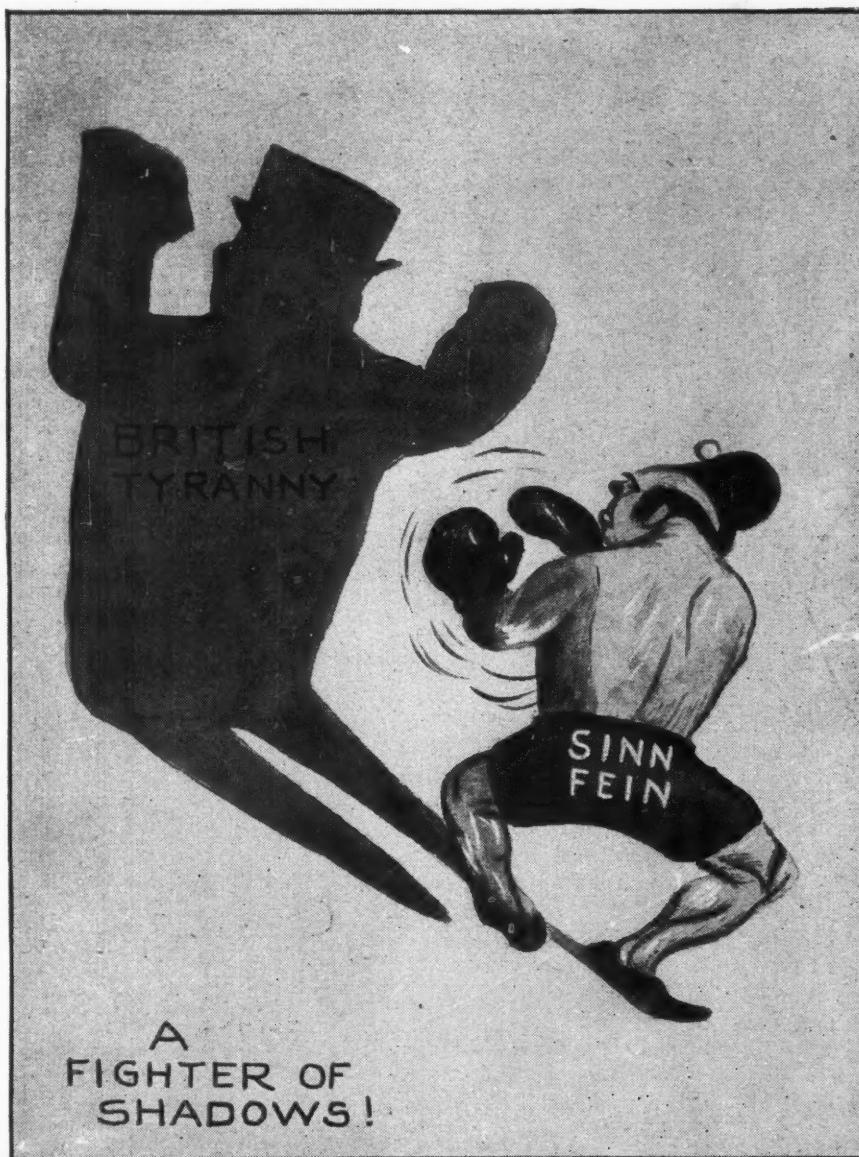
and the French restaurants and places of amusement had been warned not to receive them, since they were but servants of the white soldiers. Later, the French knew better. \* \* \*

The authors describe the distressing work which the black forces were called upon to do in disinterring and reburying the American dead. During the long days of Summer, isolated in poison-exhaling graves, they toiled, day after day, week after week, in drenching rain and parching heat. While they were rendering the American Army and nation a sacred service—one which all the white divisions had refused—they were still subject, the book states, to injustices that seared their souls.

It was, however, in the relations between the negro soldiers and the French people that the discriminations practiced by the white commanders caused the greatest bitterness. The chapter dealing with this subject—written by Miss Johnson—cites official bulletins to show that the American officers sought to prohibit the negro from mixing with the French people, especially French women. A persistent "propaganda," she asserts, was conducted by the white Americans to instil their own race prejudice into the minds of the French. Where this propaganda had not reached, says the author, the French people showed no race prejudice; they barred no place to the colored soldiers, not even their homes; they allowed their wives and daughters to associate with them on equal terms; they loved the negro for his accomplishments and his disposition. The American white soldiers and officers resented the sight of colored men going about publicly with white women, and in several instances this led to rioting. The author cites evidence of the resentment felt by French women when the black soldiers were officially prohibited from social intercourse with them, and refers to a protest made by an association of French women against interference with their "social life." All in all, she concludes, the 150,000 negroes quartered in France, officers and men, returned to the United States imbued with a wider notion of freedom, and with the knowledge that "there is a fair-skinned people in the world who believe in the equality of races, and who practice what they preach."

# INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF CURRENT EVENTS

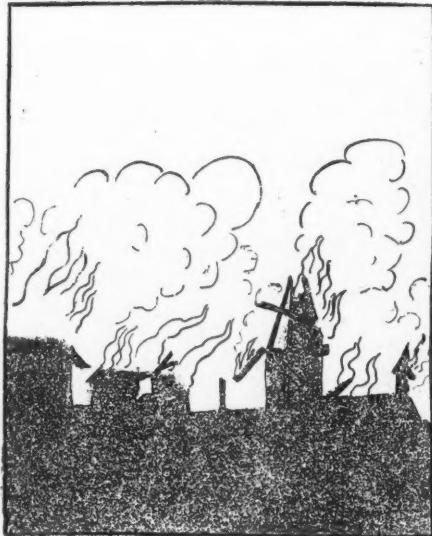
[English Cartoon]



—*The Passing Show, London.*

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

## BACKWARD GLANCE AT THE PEACE YEAR, 1920



Peace in Ireland.



Peace in Russia.



Peace in Vienna.



Peace for the Peace-Angel, Wilson.

—Nebelspalter, Zurich.

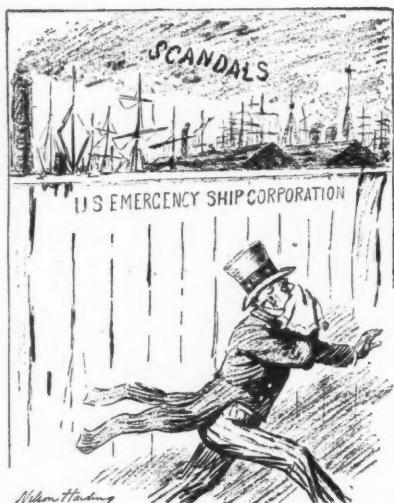
[American Cartoon]

JUST AS THOUGH WE COULDN'T PUT IT UP  
AGAIN ANY TIME WE NEEDED IT



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## [American Cartoons]

That Awful Odor From the  
Boneyard

—Brooklyn Eagle.

THE aftermath of the war in the United States, as in other nations, has brought to light a deplorable amount of waste and extravagance, as well as some outright corruption. Scandals have been uncovered in the Shipping Board inquiry, and various Government departments now under investigation by Congressional committees have revealed laxity in administration.

Beautiful Frame, but  
Where's the Picture?

—Detroit News.

Why Our Ship Doesn't  
Come In

—Columbus Dispatch.

You Know How Some Peo-  
ple Leave Things When  
They Move Out

—New York Evening Mail.

THE task before the incoming Congress is one of sharply reducing taxation and instituting a régime of strict economy. Power involves responsibility, and as the Republican Party has a large majority in both houses, it has no excuse for failures.

[American Cartoon]

## HE DOESN'T TAKE TO THESE LONG EFFECTS



—Sacramento Bee.

FOLLOWING the election of Mr. Harding to the Presidency, preparations were made on an extensive scale for an elaborate inaugural program. On Jan. 10, President-elect Harding wrote to the Joint Congressional Committee in charge of the inauguration plans, urging that all features of the program involving pomp and extravagance be omitted. The committee promptly complied, and on Jan. 19 a photograph of the inauguration of President Lincoln was adopted as a guide for the forthcoming ceremony. It was said that in simplicity the arrangements would closely parallel those of 1861. The Committee decided that the small stand to be built at the top of the steps on the east portico of the Capitol should be made large enough to accommodate the President-elect, Chief Justice White, who will administer the oath, the Inaugural Committee and a few other officials. All spectators, except the official party, and possibly working newspaper men, were to stand during the ceremony, but parts of the portico and steps were to be roped off for members of Congress.

[American Cartoon]

## THE LOUNGE LIZARD



—San Francisco Chronicle.

THE failure of the United States Government to ratify the Treaty of Versailles has left us still at technical war with Germany, although nineteen months have passed since the treaty was signed. This has been a serious damage to the commercial interests of the United States and the reconstruction of the world. The Knox resolution passed at the last session of Congress declared the war with Germany at an end, but this resolution was vetoed by the President. The duty of settling the question will devolve on the new Administration, in which the Congress majority and the Executive will represent the same political party.

## [American Cartoons]

SH-H-H!

THE coming of March 15, this year, will be greeted with greater apprehension than the similar date of last year. It is the day on which income returns have to be filed, accompanied by a check for the income tax, either in whole or in part. Deflation in 1920 diminished many incomes, and the Government is expected to sustain a serious loss of revenue.



—Newspaper Enterprise Association.

## John Bull's "Old Kit-Bag"

"I should be ashamed to grumble about my own burdens when I view yours, John."



—Central Press Association.

**G**REAT BRITAIN, with her far-flung empire, is confronted with grave political and economic problems: 100,000 additional men and women are being thrown out of work each month, her foreign responsibilities are staggering, and Ireland is on the brink of civil war.

## [American Cartoons]



**"Protect me from him, protect me!"**

—Dayton News.

THE tariff has usually been a party question, the Republicans inclining toward a tariff for protection, while the Democrats have favored a tariff chiefly for revenue. In this session of Congress the Fordney bill was introduced as a temporary tariff measure, but met with so much opposition that a closure measure was introduced in the Senate in order to expedite the bill. The closure resolution, however, met with defeat.

### The Quarreling Balloonists



—Detroit News.

**"Get off the hose!"**



—Detroit News.

[English Cartoon]

## THAT INCREASING INFLAMMATION



—London Opinion.

JOHN BULL (to Dr. Lloyd George): "You told me the League of Nations Liniment would reduce the swelling—but it seems to be worse than ever."

[German Cartoon]

## A GOOD JOKE

—*Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

"Don't go near him. He hasn't buried the hatchet yet."

The Nobel Prize of about \$40,000 was awarded to President Wilson in 1920 for his services in the advancement of peace. This award was made in recognition of the endeavors of the President during the war to bring the conflict to an end and also for his work at the Peace Conference in Paris. The conferring of the prize aroused criticism in Germany, because of the failure of the United States Government to end the state of war which technically exists between the two nations.

[American Cartoon]

## AROUND THE WORLD AGAIN



—Dayton News.

## [American Cartoons]



The Movement Is Under Way

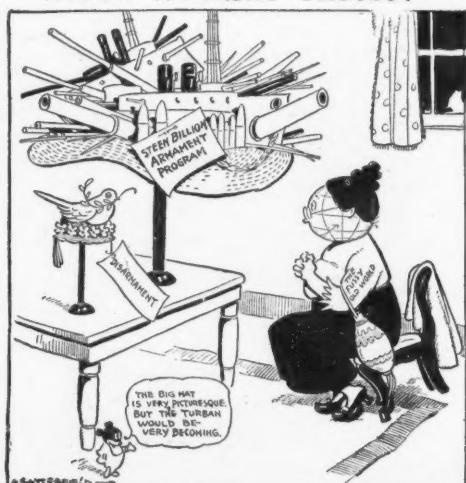
"Hang your clothes on a hickory limb"

—Dallas News.

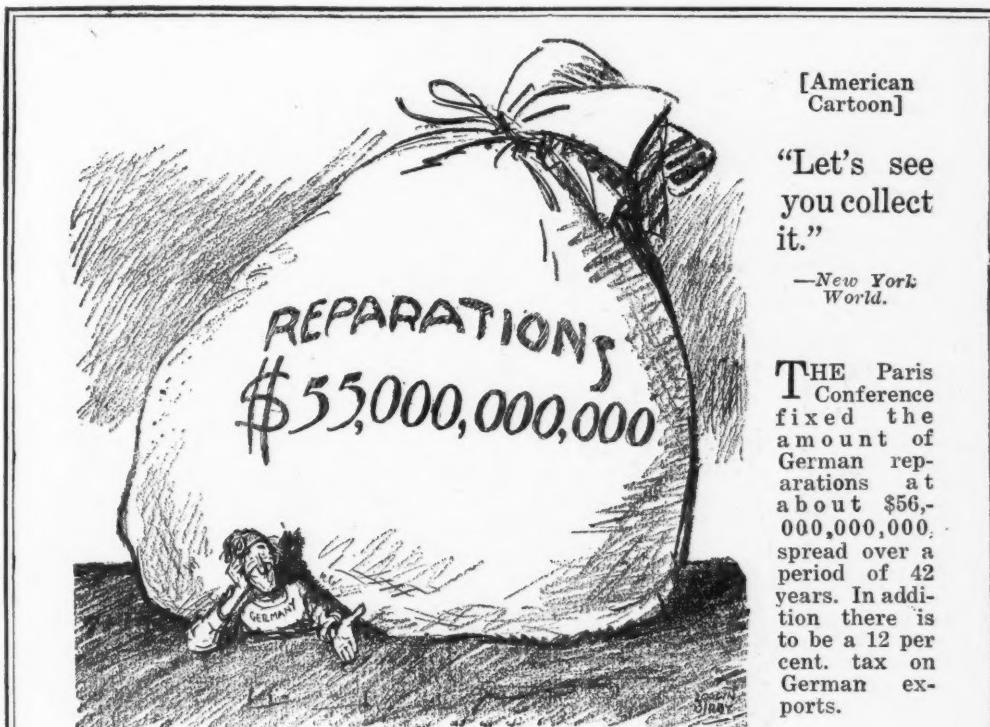
**D I S A R M A - M E N T**, which was one of the announced aims of the Peace Conference, has been slow in coming, except in the case of the vanquished nations, and even there it is not yet complete. The agitation for a "naval holiday," however, and the officially authorized statement that President-elect Harding, shortly after his inauguration, will call for a disarmament conference, are signs of promise.



—Dallas News.



—Newspaper Enterprise Association



THE Paris Conference fixed the amount of German reparations at about \$55,000,000, spread over a period of 42 years. In addition there is to be a 12 per cent. tax on German exports.

[American Cartoon]  
Germany Wants a Pardon, or Habeas Corpus, or Something.



[German Cartoon]  
Delivery of Milch Cows to France.



—Simplicissimus, Munich.  
"Come, my children, we will go where France can take nothing more from us."

[Dutch Cartoon]

## First Birthday of the League of Nations



—De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam.

**JOHN BULL:** "He's a nice youngster, and just like his father."  
**EUROPA:** "Yes, but his father doesn't give him anything."

[Italian Cartoon]

## He Hasn't Done It Yet.



—Il 420, Florence.

**PEACE:** "If you succeed in freeing me, you will be mankind's most blessed year."

[German Cartoon]  
**The Sword Swallower of Geneva.**



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin  
 They made the Peace Angel swallow the sword, but, alas! it stuck fast in her throat.

# THE WARFARE IN IRELAND

*Hostile declarations on both sides banish hopes of immediate peace—An important speech by Premier Lloyd George.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

EFFORTS to bring about a truce or peace between the contending forces in Ireland, from which something at least was hoped in many quarters, seemed to meet with failure in January and February. The Archbishop of Tuam, who had been tireless in endeavoring to establish a "truce of God," denounced as equally cowardly the folly of the ambushers in his diocese and the inhuman harbarity of the reprisals. He appealed anew to the best elements of "the two sister nations" to call off the State warfare which was the negation of Christianity.

Regarding the burning of Cork, considerable criticism was directed against the Government for its refusal to make public General Strickland's report, especially in view of a report submitted by the Irish Labor Party, which charged that the destruction of Cork was a deliberate and planned reprisal. Optimistic views of the situation were expressed by Sir Hamar Greenwood, who was sure the Government was "breaking this terror," and by General Strickland, who declared the organization of the Irish Republican Army was being broken up and becoming more localized, though he expected a year or more of guerrilla warfare; these statements, however, were met with others which declared that "the Irish Republican Army appeared to have been growing in volume, both in the martial law areas and in districts like Galway, which previously had been quiet."

The British Government's position was made clear in the face of rumors of new peace negotiations when Premier Lloyd George spoke before the Welsh National Liberal Council on Feb. 8. In an impassioned appeal for political unity he characterized the situation of the day as "a world reeling under the most terrible blow ever dealt." Then with reference to Ireland he said the coalitionists had given Ireland a greater measure of home rule than

either Gladstone or Asquith had proposed. "But," he went on, "they say they won't take it. They must have an Irish republic, an Irish army, an Irish navy. They won't get it." In conclusion he declared there was no issue between themselves and their political opponents on Home Rule, but with those bent upon setting up "an independent country by our very gates" it was an issue of permitting the murder of the policemen and soldiers upholding the honor of the British flag and endangering the commerce and life of the nation.

Publication of the Government of Ireland act disclosed some interesting particulars regarding the composition of the two Irish Parliaments and the provisions for their uniting at some future date in one Parliament for the whole country. According to the law, each Parliament is to consist of two chambers. The South is to have 128 Commoners and 64 Senators; the North, 52 and 26; but, whereas in the South the upper house (with the exception of three ex-officio members) is partly nominated and partly indirectly elected, in the North the Commons is to elect all the Senators save two, the Lord Mayors of Belfast and Londonderry.

Above the Parliaments is established a Council consisting of seven Senators and thirteen Commoners of each Parliament, with a President nominated by the Lord Lieutenant on instructions from his Majesty, as the act says, "with a view to the eventual establishment of one Parliament and to bring about harmonious action in relation to matters affecting the whole of Ireland." Regarding membership in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the act gives Ireland 46 seats. In order to facilitate the fusion of the two Irish Parliaments, North and South are required to pass an identical act, only to be introduced after a motion in its favor has been passed, and then carried on third reading by an abso-

lute majority of the members of each House of Commons. Thereupon the Council and the Parliaments will come to an end, and many of the powers still reserved to the Parliament at Westminster will automatically pass to the new body.

Conspicuous among the numerous trials proceeding in Ireland was that of three young men, Frank Teeling, William Conway and Edward Potter, which was opened on Jan. 25 before a court-martial in the Council Chamber of Dublin City Hall. The prisoners were charged with the murder of Lieutenant MacMahon, otherwise Anglish, in a house in Lower Mount Street, Sunday, Nov. 21. At that time fourteen British officers were assassinated, and as the result over thirty prisoners were now awaiting trial in batches. On Jan. 30, Father Dominic, Chaplain to the late Lord Mayor MacSwiney of Cork, was sentenced by court-martial to five years penal servitude, with two years remitted, "for writing a letter likely to cause disaffection." On the appeal of Joseph Murphy, who was found guilty by a court-martial of having led an attack in Cork on Oct. 8 against the military and was sentenced to death, the court decided on Jan. 31 that it was powerless to stay the execution, but that the prisoner should have time to make further representations before the court-martial. Before another court-martial sitting in Dublin on Feb. 4 Lord Dunsany, poet, playwright and war veteran, pleaded guilty to the charge of possessing arms and ammunition, and was fined £25, with the alternative of three months in prison. The trial was the outcome of a raid on Lord Dunsany's estate in County Meath and the capture of several shotguns and other sporting arms. Lord Dunsany, in declaring his loyalty to the Crown, said that he had "fought against the Sinn Feiners, the Boers and Germans, and his house was built as a stronghold to safeguard the power of the Crown," but it did not avail him before the court-martial in escaping conviction.

In the case of Donal O'Callaghan, Lord Mayor of Cork, who had arrived in the United States without a passport, Secretary Wilson of the Labor Department directed Mr. O'Callaghan's counsel on Jan. 19 to deliver the Lord Mayor to the Immigration Inspector at Norfolk for deportation before Feb. 13. This action terminated a dispute be-

tween the State and Labor Departments by the latter's yielding jurisdiction to the former in cases of aliens arriving in the United States without passports. By the 13th Mr. O'Callaghan had disappeared from sight, and it was said that he was returning to Ireland by a secret route.

The melancholy list of outrages and reprisals, too numerous to give in detail, was lengthened, though both sides claimed advantage gained. On Jan. 20, Crown forces added to the demolished area in Cork City by the destruction of two large houses in Washington Street. The occupants of both houses were granted an hour in which to remove their furniture. At the expiration of that period soldiers placed high explosives in the houses and reduced their interiors to ruins. Cork was described as suggesting a huge prison, due to the new curfew order, which went into effect on Jan. 23. This compelled 90,000 citizens to be within their houses at 5 o'clock in the evening and stay there until morning on each Saturday and Sunday. Between these hours Cork drew blinds and shuttered itself, while armored cars and patrols with bristling bayonets took possession of the streets.

On the 24th the military and police barracks at Bandon, twenty miles from Cork, were subjected to an attack in which bombs were used, but the assailants were finally driven off with the loss of two dead. About the same time from widely separated parts of the country similar actions were reported, with a record of half a dozen police barracks attacked and eight persons killed.

What was believed to have been the first occasion on which a mine was used in attacking Crown forces occurred near Ballinalee, County Longford, Feb. 2, when one was exploded under an auxiliary police car, killing two policemen and wounding nine. An engagement resembling a pitched battle, in which machine guns were used, took place between some 500 Sinn Feiners and Crown forces at Rosscarberry, County Cork. The Sinn Feiners had occupied Burgatia House with the object of turning it into a fortress and attacking Crown forces passing between Clonakilty and Rosscarberry. When finally driven out of the house the Sinn Feiners retreated in good order to the sea and made their escape in boats.

An act of extraordinary police precaution took place at the termination of the services in the Cathedral and churches at Queenstown on Feb. 6. All males between the ages of 16 and 40 were rounded up. Several hundred were conveyed to the barracks on the outskirts of the city. They were then required to give their names and addresses, and afterward divided into groups, six persons in each, and given a specified number and date. Then they were informed that, if any Crown forces were ambuscaded within a radius of two miles of Queenstown on any of the dates assigned to the different groups, the men in those groups would be held responsible and required to furnish necessary information to the authorities.

Meantime Dublin had become one of the storm centres for ambuscades. Almost nightly the sound of shooting was heard. As a result of repeated attacks on Government motor cars carrying Crown forces and other persons in Dublin, Colonel Oldman, a military authority, announced that, should these outrages continue, "known rebels" would be carried as hostages for the safe conduct of the occupants of such vehicles. This threat was put into effect, and on Feb. 5 William Sears, Sinn Fein member of Parliament, and editor of the Enniscorthy Echo, was driven through Dublin in a military

lorry as a hostage. In order to afford extra protection to the troops traveling in armor-plated lorries and cars, a new type of vehicle was seen at Dublin Castle; it was enclosed, except for an entrance at the rear, and protected by a substantial steel netting to ward off bombs and explosives.

A large meeting held in Dublin on Feb. 10 under the auspices of the Dominion League, but including representatives of every section of Irish moderates, placed itself on record, with only three dissenting votes, as refusing to lend support to the Home Rule act in Southern Ireland. Resolutions were adopted defining the Home Rule demand as full national self-government and financial independence, conditioned by an agreement for safeguarding the strategic unity of the British Isles, and calling upon the Government to take the first step by making an offer on such terms, accompanied by a pledge that when peace was restored amnesty for all political prisoners would be granted, with reparation for the losses inflicted during the conflict either by the Government or by the insurrectionists.

A Dublin castle statement, issued on Feb. 11, showed that the total casualties of the Crown forces up to that date had been: Police, 224 killed, 336 wounded; military, 57 killed, 143 wounded.

## ENGLAND'S UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

*More than a million men out of work, including many ex-soldiers—  
Growing opposition to enormous taxes and Government expenditures.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE chief concern of England continues to be the unemployment crisis, which is aggravated by a further relaxation in industry and by the aggressive attitude of labor. Reduction of taxation and of armaments also has become an issue of hardly less importance. Considerable interest centred in the meeting of the Paris Reparations Conference to fix the German war indemnity, the result of which, on the whole, proved satisfactory to the English people and press. There has been growing dissatisfaction with the Irish and Near East

policies of the Government; hence the refusal of Lord Derby, former Ambassador at Paris, to accept the War portfolio in the Cabinet, and the announcement that at the reassembling of Parliament Lords Robert and Hugh Cecil would cross the floor of the House and sit on the front Opposition bench. Progress of the trade negotiations with the Russian Soviet Government continued to be watched with hope of a satisfactory outcome.

The steady flow of the tide of unemployment reached the high mark of 1,060,000 on

Jan. 23. This was an increase of 60,000 within a week, but did not include those working upon short time, while it was also known that large numbers out of work had not registered. Of the London unemployed it was observed that the majority were of a different stamp and fibre from the down-and-out masses of the '80s and '90s. The unemployed of today march to the Labor Exchange with a military step learned in the war, and with well-ordered movements and steady discipline. There is a new spirit among them. They are more impatient of suffering, more quick to see some remedy, however desperate; more defiant and critical of the Government; and they demand a swift return for the sacrifices they made as soldiers. At present they are for peace, but at any moment they might change for industrial war.

Prolonged negotiations between the Government and the Labor Party to join in an urgent inquiry on unemployment seemed to lead nowhere. The attitude of organized labor was indicated on Jan. 20 by the formulation of a composite scheme for submission to the approaching national conference. This scheme did not suggest violent methods, but urged that all resources of the State must be concentrated on affording complete security against destitution; further, that it was the Government's foremost obligation to find productive employment for every willing worker, whether of hand or brain, at standard rates. The report blamed the Government for failing to impress upon employers that any attempt to reduce wages or prevent a full day's work at a full day's pay would entail industrial strife.

On the same day the workers rejected the Government's proposal of short-time employment in Government departments and establishments, and on Feb. 3 the building trades overwhelmingly rejected the Government's plan for "diluting" the building industry by the absorption of former service men to alleviate unemployment. The joint committee appointed by the Labor Party to inquire into the cost of living issued its second interim report on Feb. 4; it pointed out that 15 shillings out of every £1 of revenue would be devoted to the payment of war obligations, and to the maintenance of fighting forces in preparation for possible future wars. The committee made various

recommendations, but mainly suggested placing the burden of taxation on "accumulated wealth," while abolishing all taxes on foodstuffs and entertainment.

Many of the South Wales mines were closing down, owing to the virtual cessation of coal exports to France and elsewhere. The arrival of a cargo of American coal in the Thames on Feb. 1 caused something of a sensation as being significant of the forcing up of wages in the British coal trade. The Dowlais Iron and Steel Works gave several thousand workmen twenty-eight days' notice of closing, owing to trade depression, and a slump was predicted in shipbuilding following upon the biggest output year in the country's history—2,055,624 tons launched.

City taxes or rates are harassing the English householder nearly as much as the enormous Government taxes. Thus a man from whom £80 to £100 is demanded for income tax has to pay another £50 to the local rate collector, and is, moreover, warned to expect an increase in the coming financial year. However, Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced on Feb. 3 that the excess profits tax would be discontinued at the end of this fiscal year, and that no new levy would take its place.

The Housing Department of the Ministry of Health stated on Jan. 7 that 60,000 houses had been begun under the schemes of local authorities and public utility societies in England and Wales during the year 1920. Of these 11,122 were completed by Nov. 30, and completions were being made at the rate of 1,500 to 2,000 a month. Official figures issued on Jan. 19 showed that the cost of living on Jan. 1 was 165 per cent. above pre-war level. This was a reduction of four points since Dec. 1, and was held to indicate that the peak of high prices had been passed.

Provisional returns by the Registrar General showed that the birth rate for 1920 was the highest of the decade, and the number of births the highest ever recorded. With equal satisfaction it was pointed out that the death rate was the lowest ever recorded, and the number of deaths the lowest recorded since 1862, when the population was only 20,000,000. The infant mortality rate (under 1 year) was also the lowest ever

recorded, being 80 per 1,000 in England and Wales, and 75 in London.

The worst submarine disaster since the war ended took place about 100 miles off the Scilly Islands on Jan. 20, when the K-5 sank with a crew of six officers and fifty-one men. Owing to the depth of the water it was found impossible to ascertain the cause of the accident. A dispatch from Dublin to the New York Sinn Feiner asserting that the K-5 was sunk by "an electrically controlled projectile" invented by an "Irish engineer" as an act of war on England was ridiculed by the British Admiralty. The K-5 made the 301st submersible lost since the war began.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in a speech at Birmingham on Feb. 4 that the British Government had proposed that all the Allies should cancel the debts for war loans made to each other, but that the United States had rejected the idea. "To repeat such proposals," he added, would be beneath our dignity and would render us liable to a misconception of our motives."

Curious revelations of how the British Government kept watch over revolutionaries during the war were made at the trial of a libel action in London on Feb. 7. The action was brought by Herbert Booth against The Daily Herald. Booth was employed as a spy and assigned to a department with the mystic title "P. M. S2" (Parliamentary Military Secretary, Second Section). He posed as a conscientious objector, representing his feelings as pro-Bol-

shevist, anti-English and many other things. In this way he wormed himself into the confidence of the revolutionaries, and finally unearthed the plot to kill Premier Lloyd George with poison darts fired at him while playing golf on Walton Heath. Among the jurors were three women, one of whom knitted serenely during the progress of the trial without calling forth even a remark from the judge or counsel.

SCOTLAND—Complete returns of the prohibition polls in Scotland showed that the dry movement had sustained an emphatic defeat. Of the total votes cast throughout the country (approximately 1,500,000 in all) 60 per cent. were for "No change," a little over 38 per cent. for "No license" and 2 per cent. for "Limitation." While the large cities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Inverness and Dunfermline manifested the strongest opposition to prohibition, the dry vote was scattered mainly through suburban and agricultural districts. For some unexplained reason prohibition captured the large fishing centres.

Regarding the land settlement for ex-soldiers in Scotland, the Scottish Office issued a statement on Jan. 13, in which it was pointed out that money provided for the purpose had proved insufficient owing to a greater number of applicants than had been expected, and because the cost of all kinds of buildings had enormously increased. While the Government, therefore, contemplated providing further funds to the extent of £1,080,000 in all, the national situation called for the most rigid economy.

#### HOW THE TELEPHONE WAS INVENTED

THE interesting experiments in wireless telephony conducted between London and Geneva, on the occasion of the recent meetings of the League Assembly, focused public attention on the great possibilities of the telephone as adapted to the Marconi system. One of those who spoke from London to Geneva was Dr. A. Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone. In an address delivered on Dec. 11 before the Royal Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Derby, Dr. Bell described the circumstances which had led to his invention. His first intention, he explained, had been to produce a machine which would enable the deaf to

hear. As he was then skeptical of the possibility of teaching the deaf to read the lips, he set to work to create an apparatus that would supply artificial diaphragms whose vibrations should do the work of defective ear drums. Afterward the young woman who was to be his wife convinced him that lip-reading was feasible, but the work, originally meant for the aid of the deaf, bore rich fruits, for it led him to the invention of the telephone, the most vital part of which, as all the world now knows, is the metal diaphragm that conveys the sound waves from the transmitter to the receiver.

# SOUTH AFRICA LOYAL TO THE EMPIRE

*General Smuts and the South African Party win by a large majority over General Herzog and the secessionists—Business and labor troubles.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

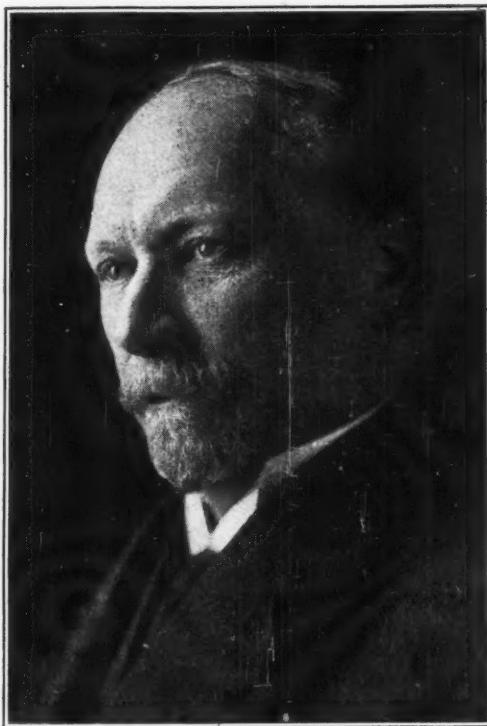
THE most important election ever held in South Africa, one of the most important ever held in the British Empire, took place on Feb. 8. The issue involved the integrity of the empire, the Nationalists under General Herzog favoring secession and the South African Party under General Smuts upholding union with the empire. The Nationalists, who had forty-four votes in the Assembly, were supported by twenty-one Labor men, a total of sixty-five, while General Smuts's party numbered forty-one, supported by twenty-five Unionists and three independents, a total of sixty-nine. With this precarious majority of four, General Smuts has been carrying on the Government for a year, while the Nationalists and Labor men became more threatening. Finally the Unionists, mainly English by descent, gave up the name and organization of their party and merged with the South African Party of General Smuts, who appealed to all citizens to "safeguard the permanent interests of the union against the disruptive and destructive policy of the Nationalists."

The election on Feb. 8 resulted in an overwhelming victory for General Smuts. The latest returns stood: South African Party (General Smuts), 76; Nationalists, 41; Laborites, 9; Independents, 1, giving the Unionists a certain majority over all of 25. The Senate elections occur Feb. 23.

Enormous majorities were given the South African Party in Durban and Cape Town, while the Labor Party suffered a severe reverse in the Rand district. In Cape Town the South African Party gained two seats, in Durban three, in the Rand eight and in East London one.

The victory of the party is attributed to the fact that workingmen voted against the secession issue raised by General Herzog, and did not pay much attention to sectional issues raised by labor leaders.

Coincident with the election were two significant events. The League of Nations



GENERAL JAN C. SMUTS.

*Premier of South Africa, who won a notable victory against secession*

issued the text of the mandate for what was formerly German Southwest Africa, which is to become an integral portion of the union. No forced labor is permitted, no intoxicants are to be allowed to natives, and there are to be no military training, naval bases or fortifications in the territory. The second event was the decision of New York banks to advance 85 per cent. on bills on South Africa against the previous advance of only 50 per cent.

Five thousand miners in the Rand district struck on the eve of election, but the move was regarded as political in order to consolidate the ranks of labor. Nevertheless, there is great anxiety over unemploy-

ment, which has been serious owing to the closing of mines. The condition of the diggers in the diamond fields at Bloemhof and other places was described as pitiable.

#### EGYPTIAN COTTON

A co-operative syndicate to hold 2,000,000 cantars of cotton, in the hope of raising the price, was formed in Cairo on Jan. 20. A cantar is equivalent to ninety-nine pounds in weight, and the total amount involved

would be between 300,000 and 400,000 bales. It was reported that the American Express Company had offered to advance the Cotton Growers' Syndicate 25 per cent. of the value of cotton in warehouses. The amount of Egyptian cotton imported into the United States increased from 95,262 bales of the 1918-19 crop year to 257,265 bales last year. At the same time the amount sent to England declined 114,000 bales. Total exports last year were 737,857 bales against 718,309 in 1919.

## MORE RIOTING IN INDIA

*Outbreaks in the United Provinces Combine with Gandhi's Non-Co-operation Movement to Keep British Rulers Uneasy.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE "non-co-operative" movement launched and personally conducted by Mr. Gandhi continued to bear fruit in India. New rioting broke out in the Rai Barelli district, which lies in the United Provinces, and continued for several days in the beginning of January; this outbreak was explained subsequently in Bombay as due to the activities of itinerant Gandhi agitators, by whom the ignorant native peasantry were told that the British *rai* would soon cease to exist. The propaganda, combined with deep discontent with the agricultural conditions imposed by the *talukdars*, or native landlords, led to serious attacks upon many houses and shops, attended by much looting. Large mobs were driven back by the police, who opened fire in several instances. Nine rioters were killed and twelve wounded. The Commissioner reported that but for this drastic handling of the situation the whole of the southern district would have been plunged into anarchy. He stated that the tenantry in some of the worst managed estates had legitimate grievances, which were receiving official attention. The contagion of rebellion, it was said, had spread from the adjacent province of Delhi, which about a month before had been placed under martial rule for a period of six months.

Another outbreak occurred in Bombay on Jan. 24. It was caused by the killing of

two pigeons—considered sacred by the natives—by two European boys. Hindu boys who attacked the youthful slayers were arrested by the police. A large mob of natives gathered, and followed the police, demanding the liberation of the Hindu boys. A charge by the police was met with showers of stones. Several persons were injured and seventeen natives arrested.

The Gandhi movement continued throughout the country. The Government made no attempt to interfere with mere expression of opinion, but the tenseness of the situation was admitted by all. Much uneasiness prevailed in the Indian Army at the end of January, owing to the decision of the Government to demobilize about a dozen Indian cavalry regiments and over thirty Indian infantry regiments. This meant that about 30,000 men and 2,500 British officers would be discharged from the service by the end of March. It was also probable at this time that the British forces in India would be further reduced. These measures were officially explained on the ground that the great war was ended, and that the heavy army expenditures were being decried in India. The British papers took a serious view of the consequences of these withdrawals, in view of the conditions of revolt prevailing. The London Telegraph pointed out the menace from the Bolshevik allies of Gandhi and

his Swaraj (Home Rule) friends, who, it declared, were aiming at Afghanistan and Persia.

The Bengal Legislative Council of State was opened on Feb. 1 by the Duke of Connaught on behalf of the British Government. The Duke reviewed the political progress of India, and pointed out the difficulties and dangers besetting the Councillors under the reform project, which

placed unaccustomed power in their hands. Educational and industrial conditions must be improved, he said; relief must be given the natives on the land question, and the standards of health and morality must be raised. He added:

With sobriety of language and freedom from passion and prejudice, the British Parliament ten years hence will be justified in enlarging the scope of the administrative activities.

## AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

**A**DMIRAL GRANT of the Australian Naval Administration is on his way to Singapore to confer with the senior officers of the East Indian, Chinese, Canadian, New Zealand and South African Squadrons on the naval defense of the Pacific.

Australia's mandate for the former German islands in the Pacific south of the equator was published on Feb. 9 by the League of Nations Council. It also published Japan's waiver of the clause respecting equal trading opportunities, which, however, the declaration said, should not be considered acquiescence by Japan.

The Commonwealth of Australia is taking steps for the preservation of the aborigines, and has set aside a tract of public lands for their use. Southern and Western Australia have granted adjoining areas for the purpose of this reservation.

Sir James Connelly, agent in London for Western Australia, announces that for the next two years a thousand emigrants from the British Isles will be sent to Australia each month. The first large party, comprising

1,100 emigrants, left Great Britain early in January.

Australia has had a record harvest, the wheat crop of New South Wales alone amounting to 55,000,000 bushels, of which 40,000,000 will be available for export.

**NEW ZEALAND**—The New Zealand Government has ordered that no motion picture film depicting thieving, robbery, murder or suicide shall be permitted to be shown in the Dominion after May 1.

An airplane mail service, modeled after that in the United States, is soon to be inaugurated, a contract having been signed with a local company to carry the mails.

New Zealand has prohibited Armour & Co., the American packers, from conducting an export business there. "The decision was arrived at after the perusal of the official summary of the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the meat packing industry, appointed by the United States Government," says the New Zealand Ministry of Agriculture. The Armours, who had already erected a large packing plant in New Zealand, protested to Washington.



## CANADIAN POLITICAL CONDITIONS

*The Dominion Government faced by increasing strength of the Opposition party—Difficulties of the Manitoba Government*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

**A**NOTHER defeat for the Dominion Government was recorded in the West Peterborough by-election. The contest was caused by the action of J. H. Burnham, the sitting member, elected as a Government supporter in the last general elections; he resigned as a protest against the Government's remaining in office without a new mandate from the people. Burnham, who was one of the five candidates in the by-election of Feb. 7, finished fourth. G. N. Gordon, Liberal candidate, was first, the official Government candidate second, and the farmer candidate third. The Labor Party man was last. This is the first victory for a Liberal candidate in any by-election since William Lyon Mackenzie King assumed the leadership of that party in the House of Commons. Liberal papers see in the result an imperative demand for the resignation of the Government. The Montreal Gazette, a staunch supporter of the Government, also considers that a general election should be held as soon as supplies are voted at the present session of Parliament, which opened on Feb. 14. The Mail and Empire, Toronto, another leading Government organ, attributes the defeat to the stupidity of the political managers in having two Government candidates in the field.

The session of the British Columbia Legislature opened Feb. 8. Mrs. Ralph Smith, one of the members for Vancouver, declined to accept the proffered Speakership. It is reported that she may be given a position in the Cabinet.

On Feb. 10 the Manitoba Legislature opened with the Norris Government controlling twenty-one votes in a House of fifty-five members. The Farmer and Labor groups have seventeen and ten members, respectively, and the Conservatives seven. Without support from one of these groups the Government cannot survive the session. Mrs. Edith Rogers, one of the Winnipeg members, is the first woman to be elected to the Legislature. She has been asked to

second the address in reply to the speech from the throne.

Debate on the bill under which the Government of Quebec will take control of the liquor traffic commenced in the Legislature of that Province Feb. 9. The Hon. Walter Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer, quoted statistics in support of his argument that prohibition had not been a success in Canada or the United States. The Government, he said, was not in love with the task of taking over control of the traffic, but looked upon it as the only solution of a very serious problem.

Dr. Tolmie, Minister of Agriculture, denies the report of a speech in Hamilton in which he was made to say in effect that Canada was ready with a tariff answer contingent upon the adoption of the tariff proposals now before the United States Congress. What he did say was that a thorough survey was being made of Canada's agricultural situation, so that all possible information would be available in the event of adverse legislation by the United States. "This survey would," he further explained, "assist us in developing those markets where our goods could be disposed of to the best advantage."

Canada's trade for the twelve months ended with December totaled \$2,639,726,135. The figures show an increase of about \$400,000,000 in imports and \$8,000,000 in exports over the previous year, though in purely Canadian goods the export increase was about \$30,000,000. Of Canada's imports \$921,625,825 were from the United States and \$231,479,294 from Britain.

N. W. Rowell, one of Canada's representatives at the Geneva meeting of the League of Nations, announced on Feb. 10 that as soon as matters connected with Canada's part in the League had been disposed of he would resign his seat in the Commons. He was elected as a Unionist, leaving the leadership of the Liberal Party in Ontario to go into the Canadian Government.

# JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER FIRE

*Demands of the Opposition Party for withdrawal from Siberia and for reduction of armaments cause violent scenes in the Diet.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE end of January was marked in the Japanese Diet by violent onslaughts on the Government's whole foreign policy. These attacks emanated from the Kensei-Kai, or Opposition Party, and were led by Viscount Kato, former Foreign Minister. For the first time in the history of Japan the leader of an opposition party had dared to give out previous notice that, at a certain session, he would attack the Government formally on the floor of the Diet. This was interpreted by the Japanese press as indicating the growth of power of the party system within the Government's own stronghold. The attack was reserved for Jan. 24.

The new Diet held its first session on Jan. 22, when both Chambers listened to the Government's own exposition of its international policy as voiced chiefly by Foreign Minister Uchida. After pointing out that the question of a reduction of armament was still being investigated by the Military Commission of the League, Viscount Uchida said:

As a matter of principle disarmament is to be welcomed for the general welfare of the human race, and the Japanese Government is paying special attention to the question. The matter, however, has very important and complex bearings upon the interests of each nation, and it is to be apprehended that realization of this end may be found impossible unless all nations act in harmony and in good faith.

Both the Premier and the Foreign Minister declined to discuss the nation's disarmament policy further, though one representative vigorously urged that Japan should at least strive to keep abreast of the United States in naval expansion.

## MANDATE IN THE PACIFIC

The Foreign Minister summed up the situation in respect to Japan's mandate in the Pacific. On May 7, 1920, the whole group of islands formerly belonging to Germany and lying north of the equator had been assigned to Japan as mandatory un-

der the League of Nations. Difficulties with Great Britain regarding Japanese rights in the island group south of the equator had been settled during the Assembly meeting at Geneva. The British had agreed that such rights would be respected, and that Japan would not be bound to acquiesce in any discriminatory treatment of her nationals in these islands. The Japanese Government was now about to enter upon formal control of the islands, and would spare no efforts to promote the welfare of the peoples affected.

The Foreign Minister deplored the continued lack of peace and unity in China. Regretfully he referred to the "calamitous events" which had compelled Japan in October, 1920, to send a Japanese expedition to Hunchun and Chentao on the North Manchurian frontier to quell anti-Japanese uprisings engineered by Korean Bolsheviks. The troops had carried out their task successfully, and now that China was co-operating and transferring suitable contingents to Chentao, the Japanese Government was preparing to withdraw its forces.

As for Siberia, he gave a running summary of the course of events in this territory during the last six months, culminating in the establishment and domination of a Far Eastern republic at Chita in November, 1920. All other Provisional Governments, including that of Vladivostok, had vested their powers in this new state. Viscount Uchida expressed doubt as to the new republic's friendship for neighboring powers. (On the day following his speech the Chita Government was reported to have sent a protest to Japan against her whole military policy in Siberia, which it declared to be contrary to Japan's explicit pledges not to interfere in Russian internal affairs. It specifically complained of the Japanese seizure of Russian fisheries at Saghulin Island, which Japanese forces still occupy.) The political stability of Russia in general, said

Viscount Uchida, was earnestly hoped for by Japan; as for Siberia in particular, it was the keenest desire of the Japanese Government that this troubled area should be unified on a sound basis and be restored to complete order.

The incident of the killing of Lieutenant Warren H. Langdon, an American, by a Japanese sentry at Vladivostok on Jan. 8 received prompt attention. The Japanese Government sent a note to Washington expressing deep regret for the tragedy, and offering to make all due amends both financial and otherwise. The Japanese soldiers, however, defended the sentry and filed a formal protest against punishing him by court-martial.

#### RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES

Fundamentally, said the Foreign Minister, the relations between Japan and the United States reposed on a solid basis of ever-increasing friendship. Regarding the controversy over the California legislation, he said:

The new land law is the law of 1913—made more drastic and severe. That it aims at Japanese, and is unjust and discriminatory, cannot be denied. Regret which the Japanese Government expressed at the legislation of 1913 is, therefore, still more keenly felt at this new legislation. This question of land law, however, has a long history, and complex and delicate bearings, and is not susceptible of solution from the standpoint of one side alone.

In the treaty negotiations then going on at Washington, continued the Foreign Minister, Japan was approaching these problems from the higher viewpoint of international friendship, and was confident that a satisfactory adjustment of the "unfortunate movement in California" would be reached.

In connection with the California matter it may be well here to present a striking statement made recently by The Japan Chronicle, an English paper published in Kobe. Commenting on a leading article by Dr. Iyenaga in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, the editor of The Chronicle asked why the Japanese writer, in opposing California's action, had not cited the liberality of his own country toward alien residents. "Because," he continued, "Japan has about the worst record of all countries in this respect." In substantiation of that charge he marshaled the following facts:

In Japan aliens cannot purchase land, and though they are taxed, they have not even the privilege of recording a municipal vote; the naturalization law is so hedged round with restrictions that it takes about fifteen years before the full rights of naturalization are granted; aliens are excluded from all companies having a Government subsidy, though they are taxed to supply the subsidy; aliens cannot become members of the Japanese bar, though a number of Japanese have succeeded in being called to the bar in England; aliens cannot become members, shareholders or brokers of the various Exchanges, and cannot even become members of Japanese Chambers of Commerce. Moreover, the Japanese Government applies to Chinese practically all the disabilities which it is proposed to apply to Japanese in California. No skilled Chinese artisan can be employed in Japan; unskilled Chinese labor must receive Government authorization; no Chinese can own or occupy land in Japan or engage in agricultural pursuits. Dr. Iyenaga knows all this, but he prefers to cite the liberal treatment accorded aliens in Canada when trying to influence the Californians, and to suppress the illiberality of his own country.

#### ATTACKS ON THE GOVERNMENT

Despite Viscount Uchida's official expression of optimism, above summarized, there were increasing signs of a strong opposition movement throughout Japan. The Government's whole foreign policy, in America, Siberia, China, was encountering formidable hostility both inside and outside of Parliament. At the session of Jan. 24 the House was packed with people who had come to witness the interpellation that had been announced by Viscount Kato. In a long and impassioned address the Viscount condemned the Government for sending 45,000 men to Siberia after the United States had proposed proportional joint action there. The sending of so large a contingent, he declared, had created a misapprehension abroad. This had been heightened when the Government, following the Czechoslovak evacuation, had only partially withdrawn its forces. There was, he asserted, no justification for continuing the occupation, which would never bring a solution of the Russian problem. To this the Premier replied that the Government was waiting only for the establishment of a proper Russian Government; it had no hope of stopping the spread of Bolshevism by means of bayonets. That movement, he admitted, was spreading overwhelmingly, and

might even reach Korea and other Japanese territory. The Premier said he would like to withdraw the Japanese troops at once, but he believed it necessary to keep them there in the interests of Japan's national defense.

Viscount Uchida, the Foreign Minister, underwent the ordeal of being told in the public session of Jan. 25 that he should apply for American citizenship, because, in answering a violent opposition attack, he had asserted that Japan should not expect to have everything her own way in the negotiations with the United States—that due respect should be shown to the other side. This was greeted by loud cries from the Opposition forces, who shouted: "You had better become a naturalized American!"

In the session of Jan. 26 Major Gen. Tanaka defended the continuance of the occupation of Siberia as a necessary measure after the Czechoslovak repatriation to prevent the Bolsheviks from overrunning Trans-Baikalia. The Government, however, had to face another onslaught, this time on its policy in China. Baron Fujimura, a leading Oppositionist, declared that unless the so-called Mizumachi case was explained to the satisfaction of the Peers, the accusation that Japan's diplomacy is conducted by the War Department, as much as by the Foreign Office, must stand. Colonel Mizumachi, a military leader dispatched to Chentao to quell the uprisings there, had sent a letter to British missionaries who had made charges of Japanese atrocities in this district, warning the missionaries to keep out of politics. This letter, combined with the military expedition in violation of the pledge to observe the territorial integrity of China, declared Baron Fujimura, had intensified

the anti-Japanese feeling in China. Both the War Minister and the Foreign Minister repudiated any responsibility for the letter sent by Mizumachi.

The annual budget of Japan for 1921 comprises the unprecedented total of 1,562,000,000 yen. The presentation of this budget in the Diet by Minister of Finance Takahashi on Jan. 23 started a violent debate, which continued for weeks. The Opposition Party especially attacked the fact that 32 per cent. of the colossal total was to be spent for the navy and 18 per cent. for the army, making 50 per cent. of the nation's total expenditures for these two items alone. The fight to reduce the budget was led by Yukio Ozaki, a prominent member of the Kensei-Kai, who took the position that it would be suicidal for Japan to try to compete with the United States and Great Britain in naval strength. On Feb. 8 he introduced into the Diet a resolution proposing the curtailment of the naval armament. The difference of opinion in Ozaki's own party was so violent that he was expelled from that organization; but this only helped to centre public attention upon him, and the Japanese newspapers were full of articles about him. When these pages went to press the whole subject of international disarmament was causing great political agitation in Japan.

In the course of the month under review Baron Shidehara and Ambassador Morris ended their five months' negotiations at Washington regarding the main features of the new treaty between Japan and the United States. Both Ambassadors made full reports to their Governments, but the details of their work could not yet be given to the public.



# THE CONSORTIUM NOTE TO CHINA

*Official Notification to Peking of the Principles on which  
the International Loan will be granted—The famine situation.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

A CURIOUS anomaly has appeared in the latter-day hostility in China to the consortium loan agreed upon by Great Britain, France, the United States and Japan. This opposition has been both official and journalistic, in part also popular. The main obstacles have been the Chinese Government's unwillingness to pledge the security required for constructive loans, and the official conviction—spread among the people by Governmental propaganda—that acceptance of the consortium's terms insuring supervision of expenditure would involve loss of Chinese prestige. A special difficulty has arisen in the south, where the Canton rebels resolutely oppose the financing of the Peking Government, alleging that the funds thus obtained would be used by the military satraps to strengthen the army and further to oppress the people. The jealousy of Chinese bankers, who do not wish to be put in competition with a consortium, is another factor entering into this hostility. Frederick W. Stevens, the American representative, was on his way to Canton early in February to study the situation in the south. His statements regarding the consortium were constantly being subjected to attack in the Chinese press.

China received her first formal notification of the consortium plan on Feb. 1, when the American, British, French and Japanese representatives handed to the Peking Government an identical note covering the agreement and the principles on which they would be prepared to advance funds. Owing to the strong feeling of opposition in so many Chinese circles, the prospects of an immediate loan were not encouraging. And yet the national Treasury, according to the best official advices, was at its lowest

ebb. A curious feature of the situation is the fact that despite the low state of the national finances and the disorders caused by the continued civil war, by conditions of brigandage and famine, &c., Chinese trade is being maintained, and even expanded, and this notwithstanding the obstinate maintenance of the boycott against all Japanese goods.

The famine situation in China in February reached such proportions that the death of millions was feared unless effective and immediate aid was given. The Chinese were doing all in their power to relieve the situation. Red Cross funds totaling \$1,000,000 would help only 85,000 people for 200 days. The Sino-Japanese Business Association for Famine Relief raised a considerable sum in January, for which Mr. Hu, the Chinese Minister to Tokio, expressed his heartfelt thanks.

A small international flurry was aroused late in January by the news that a San Francisco wireless company had obtained from China a contract for the establishment of high power stations at Shanghai, Canton, Peking and Harbin. The British Legation protested both against this project and against a similar project planned by Japan. The British contention was that neither the American nor the Japanese company could install modern wireless stations without employing patents controlled by the Marconi Wireless, and that these were not protected in China, owing to the absence of patent laws. The Chinese Wireless Telegraph Company, the joint concern of Marconi and the Chinese Government, had operated under the original contract since 1919.

## TURKEY'S TANGLLED PROBLEMS

*Preparations for the London conference to revise the Treaty of Sèvres.  
Attitude of Turkey's two warring Governments—The religious situation.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

IT was officially announced in Constantinople on Jan. 27 that the Supreme Council's invitation for the Sultan's Government to send a delegation to the Near East Conference at London, beginning Feb. 21, at which a revision of the Sèvres Treaty would be considered, had been accepted, and that his Majesty's Government, by promise to the Council, had transmitted a most urgent invitation to Angora, asking Mustapha Kemal Pasha, or a representative of the Nationalist Government there, to participate in the Conference.

During the next three weeks there were daily conflicting reports in regard to the result of the invitation printed in the Turkish press. One day it was reported that Kemal was ready to negotiate at London; the next day this report was denied. Meanwhile news came from the Sultan's first mission under Izzet Pasha that it was too well satisfied with the conditions at Angora to think of returning. Angora was reported to be like a perpetual *festa* in lavish display and expenditure, with the population increased two or three fold, but there were no evidences of military stores or preparation, while war spirit was entirely lacking.

It was learned that the conflicting reports emanating from Constantinople as to whether the Nationalists would or would not have representatives at the conference were due to two causes: One party at Angora insisted that the invitation to the conference should come direct from the Supreme Council or one of the Entente Powers, and not through the intermediary of Stamboul; while another party, led by Kemal, insisted that at least Anatolia must be evacuated by the Allies before the invitation to the conference could even be considered.

It was stated that the Sultan's delegation had also been made up and had been instructed to make the following demands:

First—Abrogation of the privileges of

Greece in the Smyrna region under the Treaty of Sèvres;

Second—Autonomy for Thrace;

Third—Maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over the Turkish territory awarded to Armenia;

Fourth—Modification of the economic clauses of the treaty which infringe upon Turkish sovereignty and independence;

Fifth—Modification of the military clauses so that Turkey will be enabled to retain a "defensive army."

On Feb. 5 the Nationalist Government proclaimed the assertion that it, and it alone, was the true Government of Turkey, and it required the Porte to publish an edict recognizing that fact. France was said to be in favor of recognizing the demand; Great Britain was known to be against it, as the present Government at Constantinople is Great Britain's creation. Should Kemal's demands be conceded, the Sultan, it was thought, might be permitted to remain in Constantinople as Caliph, but the Government would be transferred to Angora with the abolition of the Cabinet of Stamboul and its replacement by a commission from Angora.

But the Emir of Afghanistan is also a candidate for the Caliphate. On Jan. 19 he sent the following message to Kemal Pasha:

I should like to have a permanent mission to reorganize my army, which is ready to take the field for the emancipation of our brothers.

While there were no palpable military preparations on the part of the Allies in the Constantinople district, the Porte was being strengthened in an economic way. On Jan. 23 the administration of the public debt advanced 400,000 Turkish pounds on account of the statutory gold deposit at the Ottoman Bank, worth at the time of the transaction 1,250,000 Turkish pounds. The same day the Finance Minister assumed the portfolio of Public Instruction and was succeeded by Abdullah Bey, Minister of Public Works.

In the religious sphere of the situation there were movements and counter-movements. The Stamboul Government submitted a project for the Sultan's approval converting the Ministry of Evkaf, or Pious Foundations, into a department of the Sheik-ul-Islamat, providing for the formation of a council which should organize Moslem communities after the fashion of Christian communities existing in the Ottoman Empire for centuries. This would turn the Caliphate into a hierarchy with authority over its priests and preachers which it does not now possess. On the other hand, there

was a Pan-Islamic conference held at Sivas under the Presidency of El Seyid Ahmed, the former Sheik of the Senussi, with the object of drawing up a scheme for the co-ordination of Moslem communities all over the world, with the idea of placing Islam above the States to which the communities in question were subject. There were at the conference Emir Abdulla, Feisal's brother, an Emir of Kerbela, and a representative of the Imam Yehia, the Zaidi Emir of Sanaa in the Yemen, which is part of the domain of Feisal's father, King of Hedjaz, former Sherif of Mecca.

## THE PALESTINE MANDATE

*Text of terms drafted by the British and submitted to the League of Nations—Providing a national home for the Jews.*

THE publication on Feb. 4 of the mandate over Palestine allotted to Great Britain by the Supreme Council of the Allies at San Remo threw a flood of light upon a hitherto dark spot of diplomacy and straightened out a question which was rapidly becoming involved in serious complications. The text embodies, aside from the articles of procedure, the famous San Remo resolution and the no less famous Balfour declaration. Although approved by the Supreme Council at San Remo it has yet to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. It makes it clear that while the mandatory is expected to establish "a national home for the Jewish people" it is not the intention to create a "Jewish State," as had been charged in certain quarters. The document begins with the Balfour declaration:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Whereas recognition is thereby given to the historical connection of the Jewish people in Palestine for the purpose of reconstructing their national home; whereas the allied powers have selected his Britannic Majesty as

mandatory; whereas the terms of the mandate have been formulated in the following text and have been submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval; whereas his Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate and undertaken to exercise it in behalf of and in conformity with the following provisions:

### TEXT OF THE MANDATE.

*Article I.*—His Britannic Majesty has the right to exercise as mandatory all powers inherent in the Government of a sovereign State, save as limited by the terms of the present mandate.

*Article II.*—The mandatory is responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of a Jewish national home and the development of self-governing institutions and the safeguarding of the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants, irrespective of race or religion.

*Article III.*—The mandatory shall encourage the widest measure of self-government for localities consistent with prevailing conditions.

*Article IV.*—An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as the public body for advising and for operating with the administration in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of a Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population and subject always to the control of the administration to assist and take part in the development of the country. The Zionist Organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall in consultation with the Government secure the co-

operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of a Jewish national home.

*Article V.*—No Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to any foreign power.

*Article VI.*—While insuring the rights and position of other sections of the population, the administration shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and in co-operation with the Jewish agency encourage the close settlement of Jews on land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

*Article VII.*—The administration shall be responsible for enacting nationality laws to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up permanent residence.

*Article VIII.*—The abrogation of capitulations is proclaimed.

*Article IX.*—The judicial system shall safeguard the interests of foreigners and existing religious jurisprudence, particularly that of the Wakufs, which is being administered according to religious law.

*Article X.*—England's extradition treaties apply to Palestine.

*Article XI.*—The administration is empowered to provide public ownership for natural resources and public works and the introduction of a land system promoting close settlements and intensive cultivation.

*Article XII.*—The administration may empower the Jewish agency to construct public works and develop natural resources so far not undertaken by the administration. All excessive profits to be utilized for the benefit of the country.

*Article XIII.*—The mandatory controls the foreign relations of Palestine and protects diplomatically Palestinians abroad.

*Article XIV.*—The mandatory assumes responsibility for all holy places and the free exercise of worship, the mandatory being responsible only to the League of Nations. The mandatory guarantees immunity to the Moslem shrines.

*Article XV.*—The mandatory will appoint a commission for the settling of all religious claims, the Chairman of this commission to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

*Article XVI.*—No discrimination shall be allowed in behalf of any race, religion or language, each community being entitled to schools conducted in its own language.

*Article XVII.*—There will be no interference with missionary enterprise.

*Article XVIII.*—The administration may organize voluntary military forces for the defense of the country. Without the consent of the administration the mandatory shall not use such forces for other purposes. The mandatory is at all times entitled to the use of roads, railways and ports for the movement of troops.

*Article XIX.*—The mandatory may impose taxes and customs.

*Article XX.*—The mandatory will adhere to

the international, commercial, postal and telegraphic conventions.

*Article XXI.*—The mandatory will support the right of the League of Nations to prevent diseases.

*Article XXII.*—Members of the League of Nations will be free to conduct archaeological research.

*Article XXIII.*—English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of the country, money and stamps being in Arabic and Hebrew only.

*Article XXIV.*—Recognition will be given to the holy lands of all communities.

*Article XXV.*—The mandatory is to report annually to the League of Nations.

*Article XXVI.*—In cases of disputes between the members of the League of Nations regarding the interpretation of the mandate, the Permanent Court of International Justice shall render decision.

*Article XXVII.*—If the mandatory should propose any modifications, the support of a majority of the Council of the League is to be sufficient.

*Article XXVIII.*—In the event the mandate should terminate, the League shall arrange for a Palestinian Government, which Government shall honor the financial obligations incurred by the Palestine administration. The mandate is to be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations.

In Biblical times Palestine at different periods had a population of from five to six million; now it has about 700,000, ranging from 30 to 300 to the square mile. The population of the large towns numbers 300,000; of the small towns and villages an equal number, while the nomads number about 100,000. The Jewish population is about 50,000, of whom 15,000 are agriculturists—a class which every effort is being made by the British High Commissioner to increase.

British opinion is divided in regard to the nature of the mandate; in some quarters there is also the opinion that Great Britain cannot afford Palestine any more than she can afford India.

Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, on Feb. 7 announced a scheme for the education of all children except those belonging to nomad families. The system is similar to the old New England district system, but in villages too poor or small to provide a school house the State will build one. In this way 134,000 children between the ages of 6 and 15 will be educated. The language used will be the language of the district in the rural regions, but in the towns the languages used will be according to the sectional popular demand.

## FIGHTING IN SMYRNA AND SYRIA

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 10, 1921]

THE military operations of the Greeks in Smyrna and of the French in Syria have contrary objects in view, and these objects are political, or, rather, diplomatic. The Greeks wish to demonstrate that they are sincerely executing the Venizelos heritage and that the Treaty of Sèvres should not be modified, at least not at their expense. The French wish to show that the treaty should be modified, but that there is no reason why it should be modified at the expense of France; any change, they think, should be at the expense of the nation which denies the desirability of modification, even after the enemy has suggested it.

While Greece is fighting with her right hand, with her left she is trying to raise the money to continue the fighting, which costs nearly \$500,000 a day. While France is fighting with her right hand she is offering the olive branch to the Turkish Nationalists with her left. England, firmly seated at Constantinople, in Palestine and in Mesopotamia, plays the office of referee. Shall she decide for Greece and thus prolong the war, with only expense and trouble for herself, or shall she decide for France and thus bring the war to an end? With Venizelos, Greece could be trusted. Can she still be trusted now?

Official advices from Washington as late as Feb. 10 were that, while there was no truth in the stories circulated in Constantinople about the constant defeat of the Greeks by Kemal Pasha, there was every

reason to believe that the Greek army under General Papoulias was making a desperate attempt to defeat the Nationalists decisively with a possible investment of Angora, and that if this could be done before the London Conference it might swing the British decision to the Greek side. In this case the Kemalist delegation would not be received in London and the French would be obliged to readjust their diplomatic focus to a new vision.

Meanwhile the French have captured Aintab from the Nationalists as an admonition to Kemal that he should have treated their olive branch with more respect. In France two opposite views are expressed in regard to the achievement. *Le Temps* of Feb. 10 remarks that the event should be a lesson for the Turkish Nationalists, adding: "Aintab having been taken, France is at her ease in going to the London Conference." On the other hand, the *Journal des Debats* of the same date says:

It is all very well that General Gouraud has congratulated his troops, but it is time that the French Government ceased to waste men and millions in this Asiatic enterprise. What sort of policy have we? In the name of the Turks we demand the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, and at the same time we are fighting a bloody battle to remain in positions where we have no right except by that same treaty. France claims for Turkey the restoration of regions where the Turks are in a minority, and France remains in regions where the population is overwhelmingly Turkish.

## THE BRITISH IN MESOPOTAMIA

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 10, 1921]

GREAT BRITAIN'S mandate for Mesopotamia will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva on the same day that the Near East Conference begins in London, Feb. 21. Meanwhile the London press is urging that the document be given the same publicity as that accorded the mandate for Palestine, principally because of the huge sum already

expended between the Tigris and Euphrates. Up to last August \$500,000,000 had been spent since the armistice in attempting to organize an Arab State in Mesopotamia, and the London papers desire to know whether the expense is still being kept up, and, if so, how long it will last.

Several papers, including *The Express*, say that British interests would not suffer

if the 2,000,000 Arabs of Mesopotamia were left to themselves and the British troops withdrawn, keeping only the oil region at the head of the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, the potential wealth of Mesopotamia is so immense, particularly in agriculture, that with scientific irrigation it could easily feed all Western Asia, just as it once did centuries ago.

Prince Feisal, who is still in London, has protested against the British mandate over Mesopotamia, just as he did against that over Palestine. In both cases he declares that the mandates are not in accord with the pledges given his father, King Hussein of Hedjaz, at the time the latter took up arms against the Sultan of Turkey. His

protest receives a certain approval from the British non-coalition papers. He said in a statement to the press made public on Feb. 8:

The Arabs do not object to help from Great Britain and desire the continuance of the alliance existing during the war. I submit that the heavy expenditure Great Britain is making might be saved by helping the Arabs to form a Government of their own under British advisers for the territories in question. Such a solution would realize the Arab aspirations, meet the approval of the British taxpayer, and redeem the pledges of the British Government. The Arabs, in return, do not expect a subsidy, but merely a Government loan guaranteed by the riches of Mesopotamia, which will become a second Egypt.

## TROTZKY'S TERMS TO PERSIA

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 10, 1921]

**A**FTER Azerbaijan, Armenia; after Armenia, Persia—that is the way the Moscow Government is pursuing its way of enforced "Sovietization." The exact terms that Trotzky has offered the Shah are not known, but according to the Persian representative at Moscow they do not include the occupation of the country, while the sources of information at the disposal of the State Department at Washington have permitted it to make the following deduction:

The treaty, if ratified, would make Persia an ally of Soviet Russia and provide the latter with a military base for operation against the British in the Near East and India, as well as a base for general propaganda. It confers on Russia the right to send military expeditions into Persian territories provided Persia is invaded by an enemy of Russia.

Moscow engages not to intervene in the internal affairs of Persia, a right Russia possesses under existing treaties. It undertakes to cancel all Russian loans to Persia, to surrender the Russian bank to the Persian Government, also all post offices, telegraph

lines, railroads and post roads operated in Persia by Russia, and to abolish the capitulations now in existence and which restrict the independence and sovereignty of Persia. The treaty provides diplomatic machinery for the discussion of commercial and customs regulations in the form of a special commission to be made up of Persians and Russians.

On Jan. 18 the British decided to withdraw their troops from Northern Persia; the Cossack division followed suit. The effect was to paralyze trade and fill with dread the bazaars of Teheran. The Premier, Mochir-ed-Dowieh, threatened to resign, the Shah to abdicate. Then the merchants rallied and suggested that the proposed treaty with the Soviet did not really affect the country as a whole, but only the northern portion, which, before the war, had been the Russian sphere, where now the Bolsheviks wished to establish a military base for movements to the east and southeast, but not to the south. So the Premier and the Shah decided to remain. The situation was unchanged on Feb. 10.

# SOVIET RUSSIA'S BATTLE FOR TRADE

*Slow progress of negotiations with Great Britain—President Wilson's plea for a guarantee against allied attack—Famine threatening wide areas—Deportation of Soviet "Ambassador" by the United States—Organization of the anti-Bolshevist "Constituent Assembly" in Paris.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

**I**T has been recognized by Lenin publicly that the Soviet rule is now rapidly approaching a stage that may prove decisive for its existence—the stage of reconstruction. With its enemies from within disposed of, the Moscow régime has now been brought face to face with the responsibility of building up the vast and demoralized nation economically. One of the first conditions of such a regeneration is the re-opening of trade relations with the outside world. That Lenin attaches great importance to the trade overtures made by England was indicated in his speech before the Moscow district conference of the Russian

Communist Party not long ago, in which he said:

We are placed in a position where, without having achieved victory on the international field (the only condition that would make our position secure), we can exist side by side with the imperialist powers, which are now obliged to enter into trade negotiations with us. \* \* \* There can be no better proof of the material and moral victory of our Soviet republic over world capitalism than the fact that the powers who went to war with us on account of our terrorism, and on account of our new order, were compelled, in spite of their own wish, to enter into trade relations with us, knowing full well that they are thus strengthening us.

In this exultation Lenin refers solely to



(Keystone View Co.)

This is a Russian 1,000-Ruble Note, formerly Worth \$500, now Scarcely Worth a Pound of Butter or Tea. Its Peculiarity is that it has Bolshevik Propaganda Printed on it in Seven Languages—Russian, German, Italian, French, English, Chinese and Arabic. The Sentence in Each Language has the Same Meaning—"Proletarians of All Lands, Unite."

the trade negotiations with Great Britain, for no other imperialist power has thus far made such overtures. These negotiations, however, are by no means completed at this writing. Krassin, the Soviet envoy, left London for Moscow on Jan. 8, bearing with him a tentative trade agreement prefaced by a preamble defining the countries in which the Bolsheviks are to pledge themselves to refrain from propaganda.

These countries coincide with British dominions and spheres of interest in the East. Meanwhile, that propaganda continues.

The diplomatic relations between the two Governments are not what might be described as amicable. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, sent a sharp note to the British Government at the end of December, denying charges made by Sir Robert Horne in the House of Commons that the blame for the protraction of the negotiations lay upon the Soviet Government, and declaring that the bad faith lay wholly with the British Government. He further declared that the whole trouble was caused by the preamble, with its "political clauses," and that this new element to the former agreement must be made the subject of further discussions.

To this, Earl Curzon replied on Jan. 6. After recapitulating the whole history of the negotiations, and presenting evidence that the fault for delay had been that of the Soviet Government, he took notice of the preamble to which Tchitcherin so strenuously objected. Should the Soviet intend to carry out its assurances with bona fides, he said, both parties could define in broad terms the areas to which they are intended more specifically to refer. Britain hoped that Krassin would be empowered on his return to sign the trade agreement, and that its execution would prove the sincerity of both parties and a first step toward the reconstruction and material prosperity of Eastern Europe.

Meanwhile no goods have been coming out of Russia, and British merchants are chary of accepting Russian gold, especially since the adverse decision of a British court on Dec. 21, in a case in which a private firm had sued to recover for timber stocks confiscated by the Soviet Government. Practically all other countries, including the United States, have now removed their restrictions against trade with

Soviet Russia, but trade is still conspicuous by its absence. All contracts concluded in the United States by L. C. A. K. Martens, the self-styled "Ambassador," were annulled by the latter's recall to Russia.

M. Tchitcherin, the Russian Foreign Minister, sent a long wireless message on Feb. 6 to Lord Curzon, British Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the effect that the Soviet Government had learned with pleasure that the draft of the general conditions of the trade agreement contained nothing that could not be settled by further discussion between Leonid Krassin and the British departments concerned. He denied that the Soviet had sent troops to Persia or Asia Minor, fomented a revolution in Bokhara, attempted to conclude a treaty with Afghanistan, or caused a rising of the frontier tribes of India. The note merely left the way open for further negotiations, an indefinite prolongation of the controversy.

#### GERMANY'S ATTITUDE

One interesting aspect of the whole situation is the attitude of Germany. The Germans have already had some experience with Russian trade proposals. Several months ago, in 1920, Professor Lomonossov, head of the Soviet Railway Mission, went to Germany to place a large order for locomotives and other rolling stock. Labor and capitalistic circles were alike enthusiastic. German hopes were dashed by the Russians' refusal to pay the estimated cost of 2,000,000,000 marks in gold and raw materials, and their demand to be allowed credit for the greater part of the order. The present attitude of the German Government was explained by Dr. Walter Simons, the Foreign Secretary, in a long statement read before the Reichstag on Jan. 21. Recognition of the Moscow régime was made impossible, said Dr. Simons, because of the Soviet attitude with respect to revolutionary propaganda. As to trade, the Foreign Minister declared that progress could not be expected in this direction until the Russian Government and people were able to produce tangible proof that they were in possession of export commodities.

Lenin contributed an article to the Petrograd Pravda on Feb. 7, declaring that the fight between the labor unions and the Soviets for supremacy would break up the

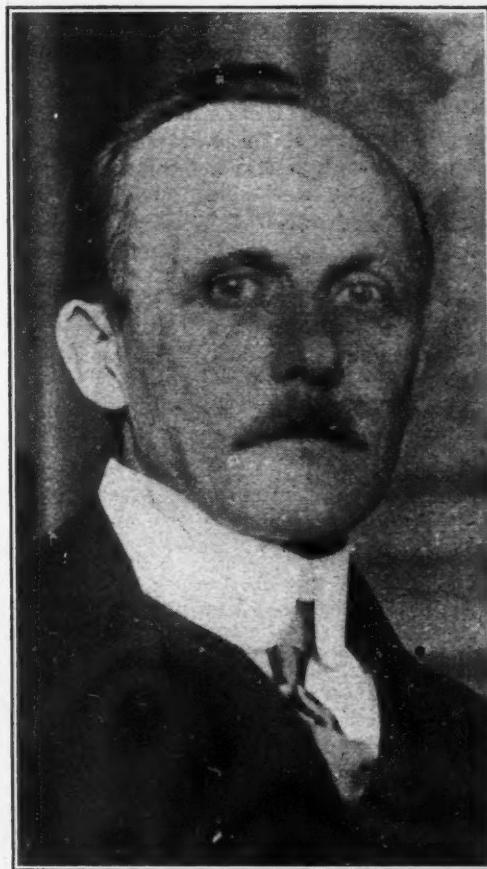
whole Bolshevik State system, unless a settlement was soon reached. On Jan. 19, two Spanish delegates, returning from Russia, whither they were sent by the Spanish Socialist Party to present its conditions for affiliation to the Third Internationale, quoted Lenin to the following effect:

Granting concessions to foreign capitalists will mean further fighting, but we cannot continue at the present rate of sacrifice, which we have borne for the last three years. We must reconstitute our economic situation while we are awaiting the spread of the world-wide revolution which we have started, but which is developing more slowly than we expected.

#### RUSSIAN "CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY"

A new anti-Bolshevist organization was created in Paris at the end of January by thirty-three of the members of the Russian Constituent Assembly, elected thereto in the latter half of 1917 by popular vote. Lenin dissolved the Assembly on Jan. 18, 1918, when it became clear that the Bolshevik Party was in the minority. M. Avskentiev, President of the Paris group, which calls itself the Constituent Assembly, was a former member of the Kerensky Cabinet. Kerensky himself, former Prime Minister of Russia, Paul N. Milukov, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other prominent pre-Bolshevist officials, are among the organizers. Resolutions have been adopted declaring unshakable opposition to the Soviet régime, to the recognition of all treaties and commercial agreements made with the Soviet Government, and also to any form of armed intervention in the affairs of Russia. Avskentiev, Kerensky and Boris A. Bakhmetev, still recognized Russian Ambassador at Washington, pledged themselves to ask of the French, British and American Governments, respectively, to recognize the new Constituent Assembly as the de jure Government of Russia. The precedent to be invoked was the recognition by the Allies of the Serbian Government set up on the Island of Corfu during the war, while Serbia was completely occupied by the Central Powers. An executive committee was appointed which included members of the Socialist, Cossack and Free Russian Parties, who were elected by the vote of the Russian people and who declare that they still represent from 1,500,-

000 to 2,000,000 Russians now exiles and refugees.



LUDWIG C. A. K. MARTENS  
*Unrecognized Soviet Ambassador to the United States, who was deported*

#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE

The opening of this new "Constituent Assembly" virtually coincided with the receipt by the League of Nations of a note from President Wilson, asking that the Entente Governments give a solemn guarantee that they will not undertake or support any further attempts at armed intervention in Russia. This note was more coldly received by the Allies than any other communication which the American President had ever cabled across the Atlantic. The message dealt specifically with America, and embodied a complaint over the long delay of the League in beginning co-opera-

tion in the mediation steps which the League Council had asked President Wilson to take. The President, however, seized the occasion to reaffirm the "hands-off" policy. Both the French and British newspaper comment was, on the whole, of a critical and even hostile character. Both the semi-official *Journal des Débats* and the *Westminster Gazette* emphasized the fact that America, though asking others to undertake responsibilities, continued to avoid them herself.

#### NEW ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Russian Information Bureau of New York summarized the peril of famine in Russia in these words:

The situation within Bolshevik Russia is critical. The economic life of the country is destroyed, even according to the Bolshevik official data. According to No. 256 of the official Bolshevik daily, *Pravda*, which contains a comparative table of manufacturing outputs for the first half year of 1920, as compared with the corresponding period of 1914, the present output of iron in Bolshevik Russia is only 12 per cent. of the output before the war; steel, 4 per cent.; cotton, 20 per cent.; coal, 25 per cent. The area under cultivation is only 24 per cent. as compared with land cultivated in 1914.

This Winter not only the Russian cities and towns, but the Russian villages, as well, are going through the torments of starvation. This is due not only to the decreased area of land under cultivation, but also to fatal crop failures in ten central provinces of Russia. According to the *Pravda*, there are six provinces (Vitebsk, Kaluga, Orel, Riazin, Nizhny Novgorod and Perm) where only 50 per cent. of the minimum of required grains has been harvested. In four provinces (Vladimir, Kostroma, Novgorod and Tula) only 25 per cent. of the required products has been gathered.

That means that 13,000,000 people have begun to suffer acute starvation this January, and that 7,000,000 were already starving in December of last year.

This picture was confirmed by official advices received at Washington in February. Michael Farbman, the Russian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, also pointed out early in January that the actual figures of the food campaign in Siberia for the first two months justified Lenin's uneasiness on the subject. Out of the 110,000,000 poods required from the six Governments of Siberia, said Mr. Farb-

man, only 13,000,000—or about 12 per cent.—had been collected.

#### SITUATION IN SIBERIA

And yet all Siberia is now in the hands of the Bolsheviks, for the establishment of the Krasnochekov Republic of the Far East at Chita, Transbaikalia (Nov. 15, 1920), and its complete domination of the Vladivostok Provisional Government since Dec. 5, 1920, despite the claims of the new republic that it is independent, have been amply demonstrated to mean but an extension of the Bolshevik rule. On Feb. 6 a Copenhagen dispatch to the Central News, London, quoted the Bolshevik newspaper *Izvestia* to the effect that the whole revolutionary committee in Siberia had been tried by the Soviet tribunal at Tomsk on a charge of secret and treacherous negotiations with Japan. A. T. Krasnochekov, Foreign Minister of the Far Eastern Republic, and five other members of the committee were sentenced to death and shot. Six other members received life sentences.

The same dispatch reported that the Soviet Government was arranging an agreement with China against Japan. Friction between Japan and the Chita Government was reported as serious on Jan. 20, Japan having informed the Vladivostok Assembly that, if actual amalgamation took place between Vladivostok and Chita, Japan would take the necessary action to maintain her independent interests in Siberia.

One great setback to the Bolshevik hopes was the recall and departure of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the Soviet "Ambassador" to the United States, with all his staff, to Russia. Mr. Martens was deported by order of the Washington Government on the ground that he belonged to a political party which planned the overthrow of the Government of the United States. He was accompanied by his wife and children, and by forty-six men and women belonging to the former Soviet Bureau. Seventy-five other radicals were deported at the same time. Both Martens and his Secretary, Gregory Weinstein, who had not been in Soviet Russia for fourteen years, seemed much dejected as they departed, despite the enthusiastic cries of hundreds of Bolshevik sympathizers at the pier.

## THE BALTIC STATES AT PEACE

*Finland and other new nations on Russia's western border all in harmony with Moscow—Allied recognition of Estonia and Latvia.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

**F**INLAND, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, the four new Baltic States that adjoin Soviet Russia on the west, have all concluded peace treaties with the Bolshevik Government. Estonia was the first to yield to the necessities of the situation, and Latvia and Lithuania followed her example. The negotiations between Moscow and Finland dragged on for months, marked by many breakings off and renewals, but the treaty was finally signed on Oct. 14, 1920. The full text of it will be found elsewhere in these pages.

Of these four Baltic nations, only one—Lithuania—has thus far failed to get recognition by the allied Governments as a sovereign State. The recognition of Finland was conceded soon after the Finns broke away from Russia. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania insisted on a similar recognition and refused all compromises with anti-Red elements that wished to condition it upon the decision of some future Constituent Assembly in Russia. All three have long sought from the United States an admission of their sovereignty, but the Wilson administration, firm in its announced policy of protecting the territorial integrity of prostrate Russia, refused to grant their petitions. Estonia and Latvia have latterly been more successful with the allied Governments, whose decision to recognize their independent status was announced on Jan. 27, 1921.

This decision was received by the Washington Government with keen disappointment, as it had been hoped that the stand taken by President Wilson in his note of Jan. 18 to the principal powers through Paul Hyman, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, would influence the Allies to adopt a harmonious policy looking to the maintenance of the integrity of former Russian territory. An exception had been made in the case of Finland, but the United States had never sanctioned the ceding of Bessarabia to Rumania, and had

consistently declined to grant recognition to the new Baltic States. Fears were expressed that the action of the allied powers would encourage Japanese aggression in Siberia, and that the setting up of so many small States on the Russian border would produce a "Balkanization" of the Baltic region, paving the way for future wars.

One of the first actions of the newly recognized States, toward the end of January, was to invite Poland and Lithuania to an international congress at Riga, the date for which was tentatively fixed for the middle of February, for the purpose of reaching an economic agreement advantageous to all the States concerned. Importation and exportation regulations, arbitrary tariffs, and transportation difficulties were to be discussed and, so far as possible, harmonized. Both Poland and Lithuania accepted the invitation, Poland on the condition that her peace negotiations with Soviet Russia should have been successfully terminated, Lithuania on the condition that her neighbors would join her in advocating de jure recognition by France and Great Britain of Lithuanian sovereignty. Finland and Rumania, it was understood, were also invited to send representatives.

**LATVIA**—Like all the other Baltic States, Latvia has been suffering from economic depression. The Letts are especially anxious to find some mechanism for restoring trade between Latvia and the west. Latvian representatives have for some time been active in Great Britain, seeking—besides the recognition now granted—both economic and financial assistance. Regarding the question of stability, on which the granting of such assistance depends, M. Zigfrid Meierovics, the Latvian Foreign Minister, pointed out to the British Government that his country had organized itself politically, that its frontiers were fixed, that its Government was democratic, and that it was at peace with all its neighbors, including Russia.

Like the Polish Government leaders, he scoffed at the rumors of a contemplated Bolshevik attack; on the contrary, he declared, the intercourse between Riga and Moscow was steadily increasing. Reports received by the Latvian Consulate in New York not long ago showed that Latvia had protested to the Moscow Government against a violation of the Latvian-Russian treaty (concluded on Aug. 11, 1920) in the execution of certain Latvian citizens in the Caucasus and elsewhere, and had demanded the immediate prosecution of the guilty Bolshevik officials, but there was every evidence that Soviet Russia intended to follow a conciliatory policy. With regard to Poland, Latvia had no intention of recognizing the occupation of Vilna by the Polish General, Zeligowski, and had sent back from its territory three delegates from Zeligowski who had obtained entrance to Riga in the motor car of the Polish military attaché. Relations with Germany had been normal, and even friendly, since the ratification of the treaty concluded in June, 1920.

**LITHUANIA**—The situation of Lithuania was the least favorable of all. Like her neighbors she was in financial and economic straits. Recognition by the allied powers was denied her, while her capital, Vilna, had been invaded and seized by the irregular Polish forces of General Zeligowski; she had been forced to remove her seat of government to Kovno, and had been involved in war with the invader. She believed, on evidence which she found convincing, that Poland secretly supported

Zeligowski. Her ardent protests to the world at large, and to the League of Nations, resulted in a proposal by the League that the dispute over the possession of Vilna be settled by a plebiscite vote. To this she was compelled to assent, but she did so only under a misapprehension, according to subsequent official statements, in the belief that Vilna itself would be excluded from the scope of the plebiscite.

Meanwhile the League sent a Commission of Control to study the situation at Vilna and to act as provisional mediator between the two warring factions. This commission persuaded Lithuania at the end of November to sign an armistice, not with General Zeligowski himself, but with the Polish Government, which accepted responsibility for Zeligowski's compliance. The protocol laid down a neutral strip between the two armies and provided for the return of all prisoners taken on either side. Thus Lithuania laid down her arms against the invader, and waited, by no means hopefully or happily, for the League to set the date for the plebiscite and to complete its arrangements for controlling it; she distrusted the ability of the League to secure fair voting conditions, fearing Poland's power of intimidation, and feeling keenly her unrecognized status. Her only hope lay in the support of the new White Ruthenian Government, which four months ago signed an agreement with Lithuania recognizing the frontier laid down by the Lithuanian treaty with Soviet Russia, and thus pledging itself to vote for Lithuania at the coming plebiscite.

## ARMENIA AND THE CAUCASUS TANGLE

*President Wilson's refusal to act further for Armenia until the root causes of the trouble are probed—Azerbaijan under Soviet rule—Georgia's precarious situation.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE situation in the Caucasus, though still obscure, has become reduced to a curious triangle, whose three sides are formed by the relations between Soviet Russia and the Kemalist Turks, between Azerbaijan and Georgia, and between Soviet Russia and Georgia. The first has

been occasioned by the Bolshevik occupation of Armenia, bringing to the Soviet the duty of protecting its new protégé against external aggression, especially aggression by the Turks. An ultimatum issued by the Armenian Soviet Government at Erivan toward the end of January compelled the

Turks to evacuate the City of Alexandropol, and to retire to a place twelve miles south-east of the city. The Erivan Government, fully supported by Moscow, also demanded the immediate evacuation of Kars and the withdrawal of all Turkish troops to the frontier of 1914. A full list of atrocities and acts of pillage committed by the Turkish troops in both Alexandropol and Kars was sent by Erivan to Mustapha Kemal, together with a complete schedule of expropriated property, including cattle, agricultural implements and food supplies, and a demand for full and immediate reparation.

President Wilson, in a note sent to Paul Hymans, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, on Jan. 18 took cognizance of a message transmitted by the Council from the British Government stating that as Armenia had fallen under the control of the Soviet Government, the President should instruct the American High Commissioner at Constantinople to take up the matter with the allied High Commissioners. The State Department's reply to this suggestion was as follows:

The President does not deem it practicable to instruct the American High Commissioner at Constantinople to act for him in this matter. As was stated in my telegram of Dec. 16, 1920, he has chosen the Hon. Henry Morgenthau, who has been prepared to act for him in such steps as may be taken. Before instructing him to proceed, however, the President has been awaiting the definite assurances and information from all the principal powers interested, as requested in his cable of Nov. 30, 1920, defining the conditions under which he would endeavor to mediate.

The message from the British Prime Minister transmitted would seem to indicate the impracticability or futility of the President's addressing himself, at least in the first instance, to the Armenians and Kemalists. The President is inclined to share this view, and to feel that no solution can be had without first getting at the source of the trouble.

Pending the receipt of the information and assurances referred to, the President expressed his view that the root cause of the trouble in Armenia, as in Turkey, had been the Treaty of Sèvres, which has been rejected by certain factions, and which the Allies had been unable to enforce. Neither over this situation, nor over the Soviet occupation of Armenia, the President declared, had he any control, and any measures he might take or recommend would be dependent on the support of the allied powers.

Only such support, he said, would bring peace and accord to the contending parties. Declaring that "the distressful situation of Armenia" was but one detail of the whole vast Russian problem, the President made this the basis for an appeal to the allied powers to guarantee solemnly, before he undertook any attempt at mediation, that no further military attacks would be made on Soviet Russia. Such a guarantee, he intimated, would eliminate the distrust and fear of attack which kept Soviet Russia in the state of an armed camp. The responsibility for any new war on the Russian border would then be clearly placed. If this view was accepted, and the moral and diplomatic support requested was assured him, the President added, he would instruct his personal representative, Mr. Morgenthau, to proceed at once on his mission.

**AZERBAIJAN**—According to advices received by the *Paris Temps* on Jan. 12, the anti-Bolshevist forces in Azerbaijan were gaining power. The Red Army of Baku was being constantly depleted by desertions, the Red soldiers declaring they were tired of the constant revolts and attacks made upon them by the hostile Musulman population. The vast districts of Lenkoran, Kuba and Djeva were in full revolt, led by members of the former Baku Government and by the leaders of the former Azerbaijan Army. Mountaineers from Daghestan, Persians, Georgians, and even Armenians, were aiding the Azerbaijan patriots. Aid in the fight on the Bolshevik Government at Baku was being sought from Mustapha Kemal at Angora.

**GEORGIA**—The troubles of Georgia, the only non-Bolshevized republic in the Caucasus region since the Soviet seizure of Armenia, came both from Azerbaijan and from Moscow. Bad feeling was aroused in Azerbaijan, still under Soviet control, by the energetic measures taken by Georgia to get rid of the active Red agitators upon its territory. Two attempted Communist coups d'état had been repressed, and the instigators imprisoned and all unemployed elements had been sent to do woodcutting at distant points of the country. In retaliation for the arrest and expulsion of its citizens, including members of a mission at Tiflis, Azerbaijan stopped the transmission of

promised oil supplies and demanded satisfaction for the arrest of Tartar Communists in Georgia. The Baku Government further demanded that Georgia pay it a promised loan of 20,000,000 rubles. The attitude of Georgia was unyielding.

The Georgian Government made no difference between the Baku Government and Moscow, and in a note sent to the Kremlin Bolsheviks in January the action of Soviet Azerbaijan in holding up the oil supplies since Dec. 5, 1920, was vigorously protested. Ten oil trains belonging to Georgia were being held up in Azerbaijan, the Georgian Government declared. This, said the note of protest, was an infraction of the transportation treaty concluded between Georgia and Soviet Russia last November, and made the possibility of future commercial relations doubtful.

The anti-Bolshevist campaign waged by Georgia gave deep offense to the Soviet

Government; this resentment was voiced by the Bolshevik leader Litvinov in an interview granted in Reval, Estonia, on Jan. 18. He recited in detail the Soviet grievances, which included a refusal to allow transit of Soviet goods and oil to Soviet Armenia, attempts to negotiate with Mustapha Kemal for a partition of Soviet Armenia, the occupation by Georgia of the neutral zone on the Armenian border and attempts to stir up the mountain tribes of Daghestan, &c., against the Bolshevik rule. Russia, said Litvinov, had nothing to gain by making war on Georgia nor even from a revolution, as she preferred to have democratic republics on her borders. Only in case of Georgian aggression would Moscow support the Azerbaijan régime against the Georgian Government. All that Moscow desired, he declared, was the use of Batum as a transit port, just as it used Reval in Estonia.

## POLAND ON A FIRMER FOOTING

*Permanent peace with Russia finally in sight—Troublesome plebiscites approaching settlement—Economic distress.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

POLAND'S long negotiations at Riga for a permanent peace treaty with Soviet Russia were rewarded on Feb. 10, when, according to a Moscow announcement, the treaty was completed to the satisfaction of both sides. The negotiations had been marked by many disagreements, chiefly over the question of how much of the Russian gold reserves should be handed over to compensate Poland for war damages. The Polish demand was for 300,000,000 gold rubles, based on the following grounds:

1. The amalgamation of the Polish State Bank with the Russian Imperial State Bank in the '90s of the last century, and the transportation of the Polish Bank's gold reserve from Warsaw to St. Petersburg;

2. The deposits of the Polish population in the Polish branches of the Russian Imperial Bank, following the amalgamation;

3. The damage caused by the invasion of Bolshevik troops into Polish territory during the recent campaign, which led to the defeat of the Red invaders.

Other questions involved were: The return of prisoners, amnesty for political offenders and the return of equipment taken from Polish factories nearly two years ago. It was announced from Riga on Jan. 18 that all the political clauses had been finally determined, including mutual recognition of sovereignty and Soviet pledges not to conduct propaganda. Vice Minister Domski, chief of the Polish Peace Delegation, reported to the Warsaw Foreign Office toward the end of January that the work of the conference was proceeding rapidly and that the final treaty would be signed early in February. M. Domski was to go to Moscow at the head of his commission to complete arrangements for the execution of the treaty after it was signed. A wireless dispatch from Moscow on Feb. 11 stated that the treaty had actually been signed at Riga, but confirmation of this statement was still lacking.

### THE COMING PLEBISCITES

Two plebiscites which the Poles are looking forward to with unconcealed anxiety are to be held in Upper Silesia and in Vilna (Lithuania) at dates which still remain unfixed. The situation in Upper Silesia, where the Germans and Poles continue to accuse each other of intentions to use force in case the plebiscite resulted unfavorably, remained tense, and appeals were sent to the allied Council in Paris to appoint a final date for the plebiscite. The League of Nations chose March 13 as a tentative date for the event. Meanwhile Germany's action in railroading back to Upper Silesia all German immigrants who had been born there or who had resided there aroused much resentment on the part of the Poles, both in Silesia and in Poland. The Polish Commissariat in Upper Silesia on Jan. 26 appealed to the Polish population to remain calm, and pointed out that it was part of the German plan to provoke rash actions in the hope of bringing on a civil war. Documents containing proof of this had fallen into the hands of the Polish officials.

As for the plebiscite to be held in Vilna, the Lithuanian capital, which has been occupied by the irregular Polish forces of General Zeligowski since last October, a new complication arose early in February when Switzerland refused to permit the passage of the small interallied force which was to maintain order in Vilna during the plebiscite period. The League Council had decided that the transport and victualing of the 1,500 men, provided for this purpose by Great Britain, France, Norway, Spain and possibly Holland, should be entrusted to Marshal Foch. The Marshal then approached the Swiss Government through the French Embassy in Berne for permission to transport the troops through Switzerland. The Swiss Government in a statement made to Parliament by M. Motta, head of the Political Department, in reply to Colonel Bruegger, refused to accede to Foch's request. This decision pleased the German-Swiss and displeased the French-Swiss, and the Government found itself in a dilemma which seemed, when these pages went to press, to call for a reopening of the question.

A kindred problem—that of getting General Zeligowski out of Vilna before the

plebiscite—was simplified by a pledge given to France by General Pilsudski that the city would be evacuated as soon as the date for the Lithuanian plebiscite was fixed and the League's little force arrived upon the ground. Considerable importance was attached by the Poles to the fact that under Zeligowski's Provisional Government the University of Vilna had been reopened.

### NEW COMMISSIONER FOR DANZIG

The appointment of Lieut. Gen. Sir C. B. Haking as High Commissioner of the League of Nations for the Free City of Danzig was announced on Jan. 27. The new commissioner was formerly in command of the allied troops stationed in the Danzig territory under the administration of Sir Reginald Tower, the former Commissioner. One reason for General Haking's appointment was that the military defenses of Danzig required expert examination by the Commissioner in control.

Figures made available at the end of January showed that the importance of Danzig as a shipping port was increasing. Reckoned in tonnage, Danzig's overseas traffic in 1920 was actually greater than in 1913, a record year. Great expectations for the future of Danzig as a port have been aroused. The Free City at the mouth of the mighty Vistula, with all its tributaries, is expected to become a centre of shipping trade for Northern and Eastern Europe, and for territories even further east. Much of the new traffic thus far has been between Danzig and the United States.

One important settlement affecting relations between Poland and Germany was reached by the Polish-German Commission sitting in Paris on Jan. 20. It concerned German transit to East Prussia across the so-called Danzig corridor. The terms under which Germany was to have such a right of way were finally drafted. Germany gains the right to use two types of trains, one "privileged," the other ordinary. "Privileged" trains carrying both passengers and goods are to be permitted to cross from Germany to East Prussia without Polish inspection, but the trains are to be sealed before entering Poland, and must proceed through to East Prussia without stopping. Ordinary trains are to be

subjected to customs and passport regulations at the frontier.

#### INTERNAL STATUS OF POLAND

Poland's internal situation, though far from desperate, still remains unfavorable in many respects. The food situation, according to Coningsby Dawson, who went as a special emissary of Herbert Hoover for a six weeks' trip through Central Europe, including Poland, to study the food conditions prevailing there, gave ground for much disquietude. A large part of the population, he declared, were on the verge of starvation, and half a million children in the regions devastated by war would die if the feeding stations were not maintained. This economic distress was attributed by Mr. Dawson in large part to the foreign exchange values and the depreciation of the currency. The Poles contend that the Germans have deliberately taken steps to lower the value of Polish money in order to influence the result of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia. There were signs, however, that Polish industry was reviving.

The Poles were encouraged by news from Paris that Germany had agreed before the Polish-German Commission to return to Poland 1,000 locomotives and 100,000 freight and passenger cars which the Germans took when Posen and other former German districts were incorporated with re-established Poland. This would mean a great improvement in the demoralized transportation system. An official visit by M. Stamboulysky, the Bulgarian Premier, in January, presaged an agreement for the development of regular transportation facilities between Poland and Bulgaria. Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland and Rumania were co-operating with Poland in her attempts to consolidate the railway system, linking all together, and to eliminate as far as possible the natural and artificial barriers, tariffs, embargoes, import and export regulations, &c., which had brought commerce across the international frontiers almost to a standstill. For this purpose the Central Railroad Bureau for the Baltic States had shortly before been organized, with headquarters at Riga.

#### PILSUDSKI'S MISSION TO FRANCE

Marshal Pilsudski, head of the Polish State, accompanied by Prince Sapieha, Foreign Minister, and a large party of high Polish officials, arrived in Paris on Feb. 3 to seek to negotiate a defensive alliance with France, including a trade and economic agreement, provision for financial aid, and a pledge of military support in case Poland should be attacked by any neighboring power. The Polish President was received with all the honors due to the head of a sovereign State. Long conferences were held with the French Government leaders, and every phase of Poland's present situation was discussed. It was revealed that Poland was negotiating a similar alliance with Rumania, and that any attack upon the latter country by Soviet Russia would bring Poland to her neighbor's aid.

#### FORMAL ALLIANCE REJECTED

The proposed Franco-Polish alliance, however, did not materialize. The French Government officials said they saw no immediate necessity for it, since Pilsudski himself discredited the current rumors of Soviet plans for aggression. The simple truth was that they knew full well that French soldiers would never consent to fight in the Polish marches against Bolshevik or other invasion. As for the financial aid solicited on the security of the East Galician oil wells—a scheme first proposed last Summer by M. Grabski, then Polish Minister of Finance—France was far from anxious to jeopardize her shattered exchequer further by sinking money in properties still claimed by the Soviet Government. For these various reasons, Pilsudski failed of securing two of his main objects, a cash loan and a military alliance. France, however, was willing to conclude a trade and commercial pact, and though the Polish President departed, disappointed and apprehensive of the reception he would find in Poland in view of the failure of the most important features of his mission, Prince Sapieha, the Foreign Minister, remained behind to complete the arrangements for this commercial agreement.

## RUMANIA AND POLAND AS ALLIES

*The new alliance sealed by Poland in the belief that it will help to check Russian plans of aggression.*

WHILE Rumania's formal adhesion to the "Little Entente" was still held in abeyance, her alliance with Poland became a fact. Mr. Take Jonescu's sudden change of policy is understood to be due to the fact that he feared the Bolsheviks far more than he did Hungary, and that no move would be made by the aristocratic Magyars against a country threatened by the armies of the Soviets. His ultimate decision, however, is said to have depended on one success of the Polish President, Marshal Pilsudski, at Paris, where on Feb. 3 the new Franco-Polish declaration giving specific recognition to "the community of interests uniting these two friendly countries (France and Poland)" was announced. On the eve of the announcement of the Polish-Rumanian pact, which is understood to contain not only definite military stipulations but economic and commercial terms as well, Prince Sapieha, the Polish Foreign Minister, stated that the treaty instead of making the gap between Warsaw and Moscow wider was even calculated to bridge it, as it would convince the Bolsheviks that they must remain where they were and not again attempt to invade Central Europe.

An illustration of M. Jonescu's clear vision was given by a statement to the press of Paris issued by M. Praznowsky, the Hungarian delegate at the French capital, in which he said:

I deny categorically the reports that have been in circulation to the effect that Hungary was preparing to attack Rumania. There are certainly many people in Hungary who insist that the Peace Treaty is very unjust so far as we are concerned. But we do not mean to defend our national interests by any other than peaceful methods. Moreover, the little army which we have been allowed to maintain under the Peace Treaty

is only just sufficient to enable us to protect the interior of the country against Bolshevik designs, and is certainly not large enough to render possible any aggressive action against Rumania.

In spite of the alarmist reports in the press and the circulated views of the French Military Mission at Bucharest about the threatening Bolshevik danger, Prince Ghika, the Rumanian Minister at Paris, who had left Rumania early in January for his post, has placed a different interpretation on Rumania's military preparations. In a statement, also to the French press, he said:

These preparations date from several months past when measures were taken to increase the size of the Rumanian standing army in order that it might be in proportion to the 2,500 miles of territory of frontier which Rumania will henceforth have to defend.

The statement that General Jonescu had suddenly been appointed as Director of Rumanian railways is equally unfounded. As a matter of fact, a Rumanian General was placed in charge of the railways soon after the armistice, and when he resigned some weeks ago General Jonescu was appointed to take his place.

I will not go so far as to say we have no apprehensions, but I do not see any reason for us to be particularly anxious at this moment. The Soviet troops on the Dniester comprise six skeleton divisions of only 3,000 men each, or 18,000 in all, which is not large enough to give rise to any serious fears. Neither do I consider the Hungarian army a serious danger.

I imagine that the present pessimistic reports are merely Bourse manoeuvres for the purpose of influencing the price of Rumanian funds on which a coupon will shortly be payable. Part of this same campaign was the action, shortly before the Paris Bourse closed the other day, of certain groups offering to sell Rumanian lei at ten centimes, whereas the actual price was about thirty-five. News concerning Rumania should be received with great care, particularly that coming from Vienna.

## AFFAIRS IN SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

*Norway forms a new party to fight Bolshevism—Sweden develops larger trade relations with Great Britain.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE recent success of the Community Aid Organization in breaking the Norwegian railroad workers' strike—and preventing it from being turned into a general strike—proved to be the forerunner of a definite political organization to stamp out Bolshevism in Norway. First came a split in the Norwegian Labor Party. Then, at the National Labor Congress in Christiania, on Jan. 17, attended by 250 delegates representing moderate Socialists from all parts of the country, a new party was formed called the Norwegian Socialist Democratic Labor Party.

It declared that its program would be absolutely opposed to the doctrines of Moscow and that it would use only lawful parliamentary methods. The new party is expected to play an important part in the forthcoming general election, with candidates running in every constituency. As Chairman it elected one of the oldest and ablest Socialist members of the Storthing, Magnus Nilssen, President of the Lagting (Senate). The new party numbers also some of the most prominent trade-union leaders among its members. The whole Norwegian press hailed its formation as a great political event and expressed the hope that it would destroy the Bolshevik movement.

At the recent reassembling of the Storthing, ex-Premier Gunnar Knudsen was elected President. He was also elected Chairman of the Liberal group, to take the place left vacant by the illness of Mr. Tveiten. The Conservative and Socialist groups re-elected their Chairman. In the speech from the throne, King Haakon announced that the mining laws applicable to Spitzbergen had been elaborated and would be submitted to the powers signatory to the Spitzbergen Treaty. The King emphasized the difficulties facing the Norwegian fisheries and shipping industry. There was drastic reduction of the State estimates; the budget balanced, and new taxes

were found to be unnecessary. The Government was to submit an old-age pension bill to the Storthing.

When the Norwegian Socialist, Madsen, returned from Moscow some months ago, 70,000 rubles in gold were seized in his baggage. On Jan. 19 he was fined 100 kroner for a breach of customs regulations; but, as there is no law against importation of gold, the rubles were released. Madsen alleged that the money was intended for the expenses of the Soviet Government when it should eventually have commercial relations with Norway. The Conservative press suspected that the rubles were intended for Bolshevik propaganda.

Norwegian prohibition caused the termination, Feb. 3, of the commercial treaty between Norway and Spain, the latter holding that Norway's dry law violated the treaty. No new agreement was reached and Norway was faced with the possibility of a customs war.

**SWEDEN**—At what was called a festive opening of the Riksdag, in the middle of January, the King referred, in the speech from the throne, to the severe loss sustained by the country through the death of the Crown Princess Margaret, to Sweden's joining the League of Nations, and to the importance of maintaining the country's means of defense. He emphasized the necessity of practicing economy, generally and individually, to combat the financial crisis. State measures were to be taken to aid the needy. No new taxes will be imposed, but there will be certain necessary tariff reforms and a revision of the working day regulations. The State budget showed a total of 1,300,000,000 kroner, or 225,000,000 more than the sum asked for last year.

According to information received by the Department of Commerce, in Washington, from its representatives in Europe, Asia and South America, only in Scandinavian

countries and Belgium have world-trade conditions shown improvement since the first of the year. Living costs have fallen somewhat in Scandinavian countries, according to our Trade Commissioner at Brussels and our Commercial Attaché at Copenhagen. The latter noted improvement in the exchange situation in Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

Important negotiations have been going on between Swedish and English business interests for a proposed scheme to establish an Anglo-Swedish train-ferry service. In this connection Svenska Dagbladet, a Stockholm newspaper, calls attention to the fact that Swedish export trade is dependent to the highest degree on the British market. Nearly a third of Swedish exports go to Great Britain, as before the war. This trade has recently gained in importance, especially as regards timber, woodpulp and iron. There has been a suspension of exports to England of eggs, butter and pork, but these must be renewed, and Sweden must use more margarine, as Sweden's only salvation, according to that newspaper. In January, however, the Swedish paper trade was in a precarious condition. For lack of orders most of the mills had shut down, owing largely to the strong competition of Finland and Germany. Orders were being freely booked in those countries, and the mills were in full operation, with the support of very favorable exchange conditions.

Last year was the most successful in the history of the Swedish paper industry, which commanded record prices and enjoyed an almost unlimited demand for at least half the year. In 1921, however, even the woodpulp industry is getting duller and duller, in spite of a satisfactory demand for mechanical woodpulp and for newsprint.

To obtain support for the proposed Anglo-Swedish train-ferry over the North Sea, the Swedish Government appointed a delegation representing business interests which visited London in January. The delegates attended a conference at the office of the Federation

of British Industries. Montagu Villiers presided, and among those present were representatives of the leading British railroad lines, the British Engineers' Association, the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers' Association and a number of leading British manufacturing firms. The Swedish interests expressed readiness to bear half of the initial outlay and half of the losses, and take half of the profits, as is done in a similar ferry service between Sweden and Germany. In that case the Governments of the two countries financed the scheme. A similar service exists between Sweden and Denmark.

Dr. Ahlberg, Chief of the International Division of the Swedish State Railroads, spoke in favor of the scheme. Four ferries, he said, could perform the work of sixteen steamships. The suggested type of ferry was of 13,000 tons displacement, eighteen knots' speed, carrying 500 tons in trucks and some other cargo in the hold. It was decided to appoint a committee to examine the whole question in greater detail.

The Bolshevik agitation in Scandinavia seems to be directed from Reval, Estonia, where Litvinov, since his departure from Norway, has been appointed Soviet Minister. There he has established several Communist papers in different languages and is trying to make the town a Bolshevik propaganda centre, according to a message received from Reval in Stockholm.

DENMARK—Owing to excessive foreign imports, which are glutting the markets, unemployment is growing in Denmark and most of the large factories are closing down or running on half-time. A section of the Danish press upbraids the Government for not taking protective measures or stopping imports. Minister of Commerce Rothe is opposed to both plans, being willing to consider only a temporary tariff, or a State subsidy of plants that are willing to continue operations in order to evade the growing cost of the relief extended to persons out of work.

## JUGOSLAVIA'S NEW GOVERNMENT

*Pashitch again Premier of the Greater Serbian State—Death of Field Marshal Mishitch.*

IT was not until the middle of January that the returns of the elections to the General Assembly, held Nov. 28, were legally adjusted, the total membership being raised from 416 to 421, giving the largest groups the following seating:

Democrats .....	94
Radicals .....	93
Communists (former "Narrow Socialists") .....	58
Radich (Croatian autonomists).....	50
Bosnian Moslems .....	24
Roman Catholics .....	23
Peasants of Bosnia and Serbia.....	29
Social Democrats (with two Slovenes National Socialists) .....	12

The Communists declined to take the oath to the Constitution, withdrew from the Assembly, and attempted to form an opposition outside the law. In the steps which the Government took to dissolve the Communist organizations a conspiracy was unearthed, which was quickly put down, as described in these columns last month. It was in every way similar to the one the Rumanian Government had to deal with in November and December; investigation showed Bolshevik adhesion between the two. Meanwhile the Premier, Milenko Vesnitch, notwithstanding his diplomatic victory at Rapallo, declining to consider his resignation, M. Pashitch succeeded him, taking also the portfolio of Foreign Affairs held by Dr. Ante Trumbitch. By the middle of January he had reconstructed the Ministry as follows:

Premier and Foreign Affairs .....	M. PASHITCH
Justice and Public Works .....	M. TRYKOVITCH
Finance .....	M. DRACHKOVITCH
Communications ...	M. YOTZA YOVANOVITCH
Public Instruction... M. PRIBITCHEVITCH	
Agriculture a n d Public Worship, <i>ad interim</i> .....	M. VELIZA YANKOVITCH
Post and Telegraphs and Public Health, <i>ad interim</i> .....	M. MYLETITCH
Mines and Forests.. M. KRIZMAN	
War .....	General BRANKO YOVANOTICH
Social Policy and Food, <i>ad interim</i> .. M. KOKOVETZ	

Agrarian Reform.... M. NUKOLA OUZOUKOVITCH  
Commerce and Industry .....M. MYLYVIO YOVANOVITCH

The Belgrade papers taking note of the fact that the propaganda in Italy in favor of Fiume had been succeeded by an equally anti-Slavic propaganda in favor of Montenegrin independence, launched by a committee with headquarters at Milan, vehemently denied that there was any such rebellion going on in the Black Mountain district as that described in the bulletins sent out from that agency. It was reported from Milan as late as Feb. 1 that news from Podgoritzza, thirty miles north of Scutari, showed that the populace had revolted against the Jugoslav troops patrolling the region and that 300 of the latter had been wounded.

By the death of Zhivojin Mishitch on Jan. 20, Serbia lost her bravest Voivode, or Field Marshal, and the world one of the greatest military figures in the great war. Born of peasant parents in 1855, under the shadow of Mount Suvobor, he early acquired Spartan tastes by attending the old school of artillery at Belgrade. He served in the Serbo-Turkish war of 1877 and the Serbo-Bulgar war of 1885, and then devoted himself to the study of the strategy and tactics of the great military commanders of history. In the first Balkan war of 1912-13 he was assistant Chief of Staff to General Putnik, and in the second Balkan war of 1913 he devised the manoeuvres at Bre-galnitza which overthrew Bulgaria.

When the great war broke out he was once more Voivode Putnik's trusted right-hand man, and when the Austrians, after their initial failure on the Drina and Save, invaded Serbia with stronger forces than ever in November, 1914, Mishitch was appointed to the command of the First Army, which had to bear the brunt of the attack. Mishitch's simple and unaffected heroism inspired his soldiers with confidence, and spread from his own immediate command

to the whole Serbian Army, finding expression in the decisive victory of Rudnik early in December. The Austrians under Potiorek were driven headlong out of Serbia, with a loss of 40,000 prisoners, and ten months were to pass before an enemy was seen again on Serbian soil.

Mishitch, who had been promoted Voivode (Field Marshal) after Rudnik, distinguished himself still further during the terrible retreat of the Serbian Army in the Winter of 1915, before the joint German, Austro-

Hungarian and Bulgarian advance, and, after a long interval spent at a western health resort in recovering from the strain of the campaign, he resumed command of the First Army on the Saloniki front in August, 1917, and in June, 1918, was made Chief of Staff.

Voivode Mishitch played a pre-eminent part in elaborating the plan to which the piercing of the Bulgarian front, and indirectly the collapse of Austria-Hungary, was due.

## BULGARIA'S HOPES

*Premier Stambolisky laboring for a revision of the Turkish peace treaty in Bulgaria's favor.*

BULGARIA, to judge from the Balkan press and public utterances of the statesmen of the Peninsula as a whole, is the only nation there which views with enthusiasm the coming conference in London in which the allied Premiers in the presence of Greek and Turkish delegates will review the Treaty of Sèvres in the light of the return of King Constantine to the throne of Greece and the demands of Mustapha Kemal and the Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora for revision.

Encouragement of the idea that the treaty will be modified in favor of Bulgaria has been augmenting since the return of Premier Stambolisky to Sofia, in the middle of January, from his prolonged mission to the Chancelleries of England, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania. On his return he declared that the Allied and Associated Nations now fully understood the position of Bulgaria, how she had been made the victim of the "Czar" Ferdinand, had been punished for what the people were powerless to avoid, and had, since the armistice, observed a correct attitude toward the edicts of the Supreme Council and later toward the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, and that all indicated that the Treaty of Sèvres would be changed to her advantage, at least so that she would enjoy what had been given to her by the Treaty of Bucharest after the second Balkan War of 1913.

He also spoke of the encouragement his

scheme for a "Green International," a union of the peasants of Central and Eastern Europe, as an offset to the White International of the reactionists and the Red International of the Bolsheviks, had received in Prague, Warsaw and Bucharest. Should the idea develop, as it had every promise of doing, he had no doubt that it would ultimately free Russia from the Soviets; at any rate it was destined to free farmers elsewhere from the unjust restrictions placed upon them by manufacturing centres, and make them realize that they were just as necessary to the life of a people as the workers on the roads or in the factories.

He said that it would be demonstrated at the London Conference that the cession of Western Thrace to Greece was unjust and unwise for two reasons: Two-thirds of the population were bitterly opposed to it, which could be proved by the reports made by the French Commission before the occupation by the Greeks; second, it cut off Bulgaria from her only territorial outlet to the Aegean Sea, without which her economic life could not be fully developed, and this although at the time Bulgaria signed the Treaty of Neuilly she had been given distinctly to understand that the district should be placed under international control. Moreover, it was reasonable to suppose from the recent events that an outlet for Bulgarian trade through Greece could never be satisfactorily operated.

# KING CONSTANTINE'S TROUBLES

*Situation in Greece seriously confused by the King's inability to win either faith or funds from the Allies--Venizelos again looming large--Difficulties following the fall of the Rhallis Ministry—Labors of M. Kalogeropoulos, the new Premier.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

**I**N the middle of January King Constantine reassured his subjects that the French propaganda carried on against him was really circulated with the idea of causing the Greeks to evacuate Smyrna and bring about a complete revision of the Sèvres Treaty modifying the conditions against Turkey so as to appease the Nationalists at Angora and thereby make the task of France in Syria easier; M. Rhallis subsequently declared that "France has need of England, and England—has need of Greece."

In spite of these assurances, the fact that at London, on Feb. 21, the envoys of King Constantine will be required to give account of his Majesty's brief stewardship with guarantees for the future tended to develop both a parliamentary and a ministerial crisis.

When the Bulé met on Jan. 24 the adherents of Constantine easily controlled the situation because the followers of Premier Rhallis, uniting with those of War Minister Gounaris, had 200 votes out of a total of 369. The followers of former Premier Venizelos numbered 110. The first break in the ranks in the Constantinists was observed when it was noted that the King had selected the President of the Bulé instead of his being elected by that body. Then M. Stratos, leader of the Nationalist Conservatives, drew attention to the fact that the Supreme Council in addressing communications to the Government no longer referred to Greece as an ally. Thereupon the press, not without inspiration from the Palace, it is believed, urged that the Government invite Venizelos to represent it at London as the only man who could save the situation, even if such saving made it necessary for King Constantine to relinquish the throne in favor of Crown Prince George. It was announced that Venizelos was in fact in London Feb. 12 and would represent Greece at the Allied Conference.

This trial balloon gave Premier Rhallis the opportunity to declare that the Greek people could not separate the King from the treaty, and that they must all unite in preserving both. The United States, he declared, would have the final word in regard to the treaty, while he believed that the United States would soon recognize the Constantine Government, and that the suspended credits of America to Greece would then be renewed. Besides selecting the President of the Bulé, the King also attempted to have the old oath administered, which was a pledge of allegiance to the monarch, not to the State. This the followers of Venizelos declined to accept, and an open revolt was only avoided by the promise of Premier Rhallis that the wording of the oath would be changed. In this Premier Rhallis was unsuccessful; he, with M. Gounaris, also declined to represent Greece at the London conference, as had been ordered by the King.

In these circumstances Premier Rhallis resigned, and his successor, M. Kalogeropoulos, Minister of Finance, began to reconstruct the Cabinet, which, however, took in only one new member, Nicholas Theotoky, former Minister to Imperial Germany. M. Kalogeropoulos consented to go to London, but has been ordered to decline to treat with the Turkish Nationalists.

Private advices from Athens are that, although the drastic regulations of the Venizelos régime have been removed, it is only to have substituted a policy of obstruction in certain cases and of disregard of law in others; there is no censorship, but letters and telegrams are delivered weeks later than the usual time; the refuse from houses is piled in the streets instead of being taken away, and, finally, freedom of action among all classes is rapidly assuming license.

The Athens press publishes columns in regard to the Paris trial of Tserepis and Kyriakis, the two miscreants who attempted

to assassinate M. Venizelos, in most fantastic eulogy of their deed, but with very little news. This from the *Athenaïke*:

History will write their names in letters of gold, because they undertook, planned and executed that most noble act—an act which every Greek of the Opposition has meditated, but which none but they had the courage to carry out—the murder of Venizelos. The hairs of my head stand on end at the very idea that these real heroes may be condemned.

#### This from the *Nea Himera*:

Theirs was unparalleled heroism. The unparalleled heroism of two high-souled, spotless officers, who sacrificed everything—fortune, youth and life—for the sake of achieving a supreme ideal.

Although the Rhallis Government had pledged itself to no reprisals, judges and magistrates were removed or "mis à la réforme" in such numbers that metropolitan and provincial courts in certain cases were obliged to suspend sittings. Officers were removed from the warships; in the case of the ships in the Golden Horn, their entire crews. The same is true of the land forces with one exception: The Government sought to change the units which were co-operating with the British Army in the Izmid Peninsula, but the British High Command bluntly refused to accept the proposed reliefs, so the composition of this particular corps has remained unaltered.

After a period of vacillation the Athens Government completed the schism between the Ecumenican Patriarchate of Constantinople, the traditional and legal head of the Greek Church, and the Athens Synod, the latter suppressing the subsidy of 2,500,000 drachmae hitherto mainly used to supply the needs of Greek refugees.

There was a fall in the purchasing power of the drachma caused principally by the growing unfavorable exchange rate. But the really serious situation was not without its humorous aspects: A monk called Pope Jannis appeared who predicted the entry of King Constantine and the Greek Army into Constantinople on Oct. 21, 1921, which prediction is said to have had great influence on the ignorant masses; of similar influence is the story that Princess Christopher (formerly Mrs. Leeds), called "the Dollar Princess," is having a magnificent set of Byzantine robes made in New York which she will wear when she and her husband ascend thrones in Albania.

On Jan. 23 the new Rumanian Minister, M. Duvara, was received with honors so lavish that they were entirely unprecedented in the case of a modern diplomat. On his arrival it was formally announced that preceding the marriage of Prince Carol of Rumania and Princess Helen of Greece in Athens the marriage of Prince George of Greece and Princess Elizabeth of Rumania would take place at Bucharest. The King subsequently announced that the former would take place on March 9 and the latter Feb. 27.

Notwithstanding the fact that M. Venizelos on several occasions asserted his isolation from politics the Athens press accuse him of having inspired the most recent dictum of the Supreme Council to the Athens Government. In this note it was pointed out that any change in the Constitutional Charter before June, 1921, would constitute a violation of Article 108 of the Treaty of London of 1863, because the Allies were still guarantors of the Constitution in view of the fact that the Treaty of Sèvres had not yet been ratified.

M. Venizelos continued to occupy the Villa Koulcés, in the Boulevard de Cimiez, Nice, the home of M. and Mme. Zervudachi, whose daughter Kathleen married the statesman's second son, Major Sophokles Venizelos. The officers and statesmen who followed him hither live as guests in neighboring villas or in lodgings in the town. It is their opinion, confirmed by the opinion of diplomats of the Entente, who left Athens since the return of Constantine, that both the election which ousted Venizelos and the plebiscite which restored Constantine were not trustworthy expressions of a majority of the Greeks.

Most in evidence among Venizelos's "entourage" at Nice are Admiral Koundouriotis, the ex-Regent, and his brother; M. Polites, the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Simos, the only Venizelist Minister re-elected; M. Alexandris, formerly Minister at Rome and Berlin; M. Benachi, the ex-Mayor of Athens, whom the Constantines carried through the streets of Athens in chains in December, 1916; General Paraskevopoulos, formerly in command of the Greek troops in Syria and several foreign sympathizers, among them sir Arthur Crossley. Everybody calls M. Venizelos "the President."

# GERMANY BALKS AT THE ALLIED INDEMNITY TERMS

*Demand of the Supreme Council at Paris for \$56,000,000,000 to pay for war damages is unanimously rejected by the German Government and people, but Berlin accepts the invitation to send delegates to London for a further conference on the subject.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

GERMAN unity, for a few days, was effected by the proposal sent from Paris by the allied Premiers to the German Government Jan. 30. This provided for the payment of 226,000,000,000 gold marks in annuities spread over forty-two years, in addition to semi-annual payments of sums amounting to 12 per cent. of Germany's exports for a period of forty-one years. Dr. Walter Simons, the Foreign Minister, told the Reichstag on Feb. 1 that the Cabinet had empowered him to inform the Entente Governments that the Paris proposal could not even be considered as a plan for the settlement of the reparations to be paid by Germany for war damages. He was applauded by practically the entire House—the handful of communists excepted—and by the crowds in the galleries. Press comment, from the Right to the Left, was unanimous in asserting that the allied proposition meant slavery for Germany for two-score years and could not be accepted.

Dr. Simons said that it would be the duty of the German delegates to the coming conference with allied experts in London to do their best to help work out a feasible method of settlement, regardless of the impossibility of the Paris demands. On Feb. 8 he formally accepted the invitation to the London conference, and said the German delegates would be sent on March 1, "provided the negotiations are based on proposals which the German Government reserves to itself the right to lay before the conference."

The resumption of the Brussels conference of allied and German experts on ways and means of making it possible for Germany to pay her war indemnities, begun in December, was indefinitely postponed to Feb. 3, because Carl Bergmann, German Under Secretary of the Treasury

and chief of the German mission on reparations, had informed the French Foreign Office that the German Government would not send any delegates under the changed circumstances.

A committee of fifteen of the leading German industrialists and financiers, including Rudolf Havenstein, President of the Reichsbank; Hugo Stinnes, Dr. Walther Rathenau, three representatives of the Government and one of the trade unions, presided over by Dr. Hans Kraemer, was named to study plans of reparation to be submitted to the London conference. This committee was aided by another committee, consisting of fifty prominent business men and technical experts.

The news of the Paris proposal at first appeared to have the effect of a knockout blow, but within a few days the German political and industrial leaders and their newspapers were recovering from its stunning effects. They busily poured out torrents of denunciation of the Allies, mixed with all sorts of reasons why the demands could not be met. The reactionaries pointed out that the "softness" of the Government of the republic was to blame for the Allies' demands, while the Reds insisted that the nation owed its woes to the failure of the German revolution. Nevertheless, both extremes and the Centre, with the exception of a few communists, agreed that Chancellor Fehrenbach must be upheld in his refusal to consider the Paris demands. The Executive Committee of the General German Federation of Trade Unions issued an appeal on Feb. 5 to the workers of the world, asserting that the Allies' terms meant the re-establishment of slavery for forty-two years and asking aid in resisting such a development. The Premiers of the various German Federal States met in

Berlin on Feb. 5 with the Cabinet, and approved the latter's stand.

After the first excitement had died down somewhat it was pointed out by German officials that the Paris terms were not enforceable under the Treaty of Versailles, and that the German delegates to the London conference might be able to make the Allies see their impossibility, thus opening the way for a new deal all around.

#### GERMAN DISARMAMENT

On the other hand, the German Government seemed anxious to make an attempt to comply with the Paris conference's decision that the disarmament terms agreed upon at the Spa meeting must be met by July 1, at the latest, this being an extension of six months from the original date. The moot point is the disbanding of the Bavarian and East Prussian "home guards," bodies of several hundred thousand armed men controlled by the reactionary elements and maintained for the double purpose of holding down the revolutionary workers and preparing the way for a possible restoration of the monarchy.

At the meeting of the State Premiers with the Cabinet on Feb. 5, Dr. von Kahr, the Bavarian Premier, was informed that the Federal Government would accept no further responsibilities for the failure to disband the home guards in Bavaria, and that if occupation by France followed, Bavaria would have only itself to blame. This aroused the ire of the reactionary press, and the usual stories of a big Red Army almost on the point of seizing the Government were put forth as justification for Bavaria's reluctance to disarm, while the alleged presence of a huge Polish Army on the Silesian border ready to grab that district if the March plebiscite went in favor of Germany served the same purpose for East Prussia. The ultimatum accentuated the political strife in Bavaria, the Conservatives supporting von Kahr and the Socialists threatening a general strike against him. The Allies gave Germany until March 15 to enact legislation absolutely abolishing conscription and until April 15 to turn over certain heavy armaments not yet delivered.

When Dr. von Kahr returned to Munich he put the matter of disarmament up to his

Cabinet, and the result was the sending of a note to Berlin on Feb. 12 reiterating Bavaria's apprehension regarding the feasibility of taking the guns away from the home guards and pointing out that, while the State authorities would not oppose any move by the German Government in that direction, they would leave the work of executing any disarmament order that might come from Berlin to the national forces.

#### PROGRESS IN REPARATION

The allied Premiers adopted the Reparation Commission's proposal that the German coal deliveries should be raised 200,000 tons, to 2,200,000 tons a month, with no further premiums on regular coal, but an allowance of two gold marks per ton for that of special quality. The 500,000 tons which the Germans had failed to deliver when the Spa agreement expired on Jan. 31 are also to be made up. On Feb. 4 the German Government notified the Reparation Commission that it could not deliver more than 1,800,000 tons a month and then only if the payment of the premium of five gold marks per ton was continued. This question will also come up at the London conference.

The only important act of reparation during the period ended Feb. 15 was the turning over by the Germans to the British on Feb. 3 of the new 19,000-ton steamship Von Tirpitz. On Jan. 22 the Reparation Commission issued a list of deliveries made by Germany during the first year since the coming into force of the Treaty of Versailles. The more important items of this follow: Coal, 17,818,840 tons; dyestuffs, 10,787,827 kilos; steamers, sailing vessels and fishing craft, 2,054,729 tons; inland navigation materials, 38,730 tons; livestock, 360,176 head; seeds, 6,802,588 kilos; ammonium sulphate, 19,000 tons; drugs, 57,823 kilos; rolling stock, 4,571 pieces; trucks, 129,555; motor lorries, 5,000; fixed railway materials, 140,000 tons; agricultural machinery, 131,505 pieces.

In addition to these deliveries, which were placed to Germany's credit on account of the final indemnity settlement, there were turned over, under Article 238 of the Peace Treaty providing for the restitution of property confiscated by the Germans, 13,-

546 pieces of agricultural machinery, 184,161 tons of industrial machinery, 13 locomotives, and 6,031 trucks to France, and 14 pieces of agricultural machinery, 87,046 tons of industrial machinery, 394 locomotives and 12,897 trucks to Belgium, besides various articles not listed in detail. All these figures were as of Dec. 31. The Reparation Commission's statement also read that recently published figures of German payments were much higher than the real amounts. This evidently referred to a Berlin dispatch of Jan. 19 quoting from an advance copy of the German report on reparations to the effect that the Germans had already delivered property to the value of \$5,000,000,000 under Article 235.

The Reparation Commission informed Walker B. Hines, American arbitrator, on Feb. 12 that Germany ought to make good from its Rhine fleet losses of 820,000 tons, of which 63 per cent. had been incurred by France, 33 by Belgium and 4 by other countries. This award, which requires Mr. Hines's approval, is in addition to the 253,000 tons of barges and tugs allocated to France by Mr. Hines in January.

Berlin reported on Feb. 12 that the German Government had asked permission to send a representative to confer with the British, French and Belgian judicial authorities for the purpose of speeding up the prosecution of the Germans charged with war crimes by the Allies. Of the forty-five persons accused in the Allies' revised preliminary list thirteen were said to be dead, and the proceedings against the others in the Supreme Court at Leipzig were inconclusive because of the alleged absence of tangible evidence against them.

#### FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

Although there was no indication from Berlin tending to show any improvement in the Government's financial situation, a report by the allied financial experts who attended the Brussels conference, made public in Paris on Feb. 2, pointed out that Germany could cut her deficit about 76,000,000,000 paper marks a year through effecting certain economies in her administration and by ceasing to count as expenditures huge sums appropriated but not actually spent. Count Sforza, Italian Foreign Minister, announced on Feb. 7 that the

allied Premiers had decided to reduce the expense of the allied occupation of the Rhineland to 240,000,000 gold marks annually, or about one-sixth of the present cost. On Feb. 5 the German Foreign Office defended itself against the charges of extravagance made by the allied experts by pointing out that its budget for 1920 had been swollen through the resumption of diplomatic relations with countries where the German mark was of very little value.

In the meantime private industry showed material improvement and investments in old and new companies were heavy. Statistics for 1920 gave the amount of new capital invested during the year as 14,000,000,000 marks, and on Jan. 24 it was announced that the new Krupp stock totaling 250,000,000 marks had been oversubscribed. The dye experts attached to the Reparation Commission reported great increases in the output of dyes, the total for January being about 12,000 tons, or 750 more than the average monthly output before the war. German trade with the United States during 1920 totaled \$400,300,000, against \$103,300,000 in 1919. Exports to the United States were valued at \$88,863,000, against \$10,608,000 in 1919. Oceangoing vessels totaling 655,447 tons arrived in Hamburg during January, against 644,391 in December, 240,000 in December, 1919, and 23,800 in December, 1918. Various reports told of increased trade with Russia, Spain, South America and other parts of the world. On the other hand, the cost of living continued to rise, the minimum weekly expenses of a family of four in Berlin rising in December to 330 marks and the number of unemployed persons receiving public aid advancing to 400,000 in the latter half of that month.

Another step was taken toward the withdrawal of the State from industry when it was announced on Jan. 29 that the Government had discontinued its purchases of petroleum and benzine, and would allow the German-American Petroleum Company, a Standard Oil subsidiary, and the other oil companies to buy direct, although the Government would still control the marketing of petroleum and benzine.

Advance figures on the census of 1920, quoted in a Berlin cablegram of Jan. 20, gave the population of Germany as 60,282,602, compared with about 65,000,000 in 1913.

The loss of Alsace-Lorraine and a part of Slesvig contributed to the decrease in population.

American property in Germany seized by the Government when the United States entered the World War was valued at 400,000,000 gold marks, of which property worth 135,000,000 had already been returned to its owners, according to a statement made by Dr. Haniel von Haimhausen, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on Jan. 26. Up to Dec. 31 the cost of maintaining the American forces on the Rhine was \$270,000,000, of which Germany had paid only a little more than \$35,000,000, according to United States War Department figures.

Considerable excitement was caused in Germany by an attempt by Carl Neuf and Frank Zimmer, detectives attached to the American Army of Occupation, to capture Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, an American draft evader, and Isaac Stecher, his chauffeur, at Eberbach in Baden on Jan. 22. The attempt failed and the detectives were jailed and held for trial on a charge of attempted kidnapping. A Berlin official state-

ment issued Jan. 31 said that Brig. Gen. Henry T. Allen, commander of the American forces, had apologized for the invasion of German territory, with the explanation that the Provost Marshal at Coblenz, recently arrived from America, had issued an order for Bergdoll's arrest, thinking that the latter was stopping in the French occupation zone.

Dr. Gustave Boess, former City Chamberlain, was elected Head Mayor of Berlin on Jan. 20, succeeding Adolf Wermuth, who resigned several weeks before. On Jan. 30 the Municipal Council voted a loan of 30,000,000 marks to the Communal High Seas Fishing Company, thus becoming the practical owner of six fishing steamers, with docks, warehouses and smokehouses with which to try to supply the city with fish at a reasonable price. Six more fishing craft are under construction for the Berlin fleet. The Municipal Council passed an ordinance levying a "luxury tax" upon families occupying more than one room per member. In general there was no alleviation of the housing shortage.

## HOLLAND AND THE ROYAL EXILES

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

EARLY in February the condition of the former German Empress had become so critical that the ex-Kaiser discontinued his outdoor exercise to be with her constantly. Heart attacks were increasing in frequency and violence, with a continual slow decline. On Jan. 22 she summoned her Berlin pastor, Dr. Ernst von Dryander, to her bedside. Every detail for her funeral had been arranged. A Dutch florist was ordered to keep constantly a stock of flowers on hand, and a list had been made out of friends and royalties to whom telegrams were to be sent. German undertakers were to go to Doorn from Berlin to embalm the body, which was to be placed in a steel coffin already manufactured and embossed with the imperial coat of arms. A special train was to take the body to Charlottenburg, where the interment was to take place in the royal cemetery.

Reports of intrigues to recall the Hohen-

zollerns continue with more or less accuracy, the Junker Party in Germany being more in evidence. On Jan. 27 the Kaiser was 62 years old and received several hundred letters and telegrams from Germany and from the former Kings of Württemberg, Bavaria and Saxony. Dr. Kan, the Dutch Minister of the Interior, on Jan. 29, discussing the possibility of the Kaiser's flight, said: "The Kaiser does not think of returning to Germany; he could go there only as the Kaiser, which is now impossible, and he knows it." In January, when reports were flying about of the plans of the former Emperor for a royalist coup, a young French girl living in Holland, Emma Thieresse, succeeded in obtaining a brief interview with the ex-Kaiser as he was walking about the grounds of the chateau. He did not say much, but answered questions without admitting his identity. "A word as to the past?" queried the girl, pre-

tending she was to represent a new review dedicated to the Kaiser. "It was a beautiful dream," he answered, "too soon finished, and now"—. "And now?" prompted the girl. "And now—this," was the Kaiser's answer through clenched teeth. "The future may well change things," Mlle. Thiernes retorted. "No one knows the future, Madame," he replied.

While the Kaiser at Doorn is not allowed to give interviews, the ex-Crown Prince at Wieringen occasionally talks without interference. A dispatch from The Hague on Jan. 16 gave the substance of an interview for a German weekly in Holland in which Frederick William said he would like to

return to Germany, but that could not be, because unrest would follow. His wife would go to him, but she had the training of their children to keep her away. The two sons are going to a high school at Potsdam, one expecting to be an expert farmer, the other to travel in a merchant ship. Nevertheless, the Dutch Government is placing no restrictions on the Crown Prince's return to Germany if he wishes to go. He is no longer regarded as an interned army officer, in view of which fact a committee of the Netherlands Parliament on Feb. 9 suggested that the Government cease paying for his housing at Wieringen.

## THE STABILITY OF BELGIUM

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

KING Albert has offered a cup for an international transatlantic race to be sailed the coming Summer for the yachting championship of the seas. The race will be open to sailing yachts of all nations, with no restrictions on size of boat or rig, and is expected to start on July 4 from Sandy Hook for Ostend. Such was the announcement made by Baron Cartier de Marchienne, Belgian envoy to the United States. Should many contestants enter, the race may prove a formidable rival to that for the America's Cup.

With Queen Elizabeth, King Albert paid a visit to Spain, arriving in Madrid on Feb. 1. They were entertained at the Palace by King Alfonso and Queen Victoria.

Memories of an almost forgotten sovereign, Carlotta, once Empress of Mexico, have been recalled by reports of her serious illness on Jan. 21. She is an aunt of King Albert and widow of the ill-fated Archduke Maximilian of Austria, whose brief career as Emperor of Mexico was ended by his execution in 1867. She had then gone to Europe to enlist the support of Napoleon III. in favor of her husband's empire and on news of his death became hopelessly insane. For fifty-three years she has been under medical care at her château of Bouchout, near Brussels, and is now in her eighty-first year.

There was a brief outbreak of Sovietism

at Chatelineau, near Charleroi, on Jan. 15, metal workers occupying foundries there with the intention of running them on a Communistic plan. On the plea of labor leaders, however, they surrendered the works and order was restored the next day. The Executive Council of the Belgian Federation of Labor on Jan. 19 approved a law prohibiting virtually all business activity between 6 o'clock on Sunday mornings and the same hour on Mondays.

The Belgian Government, it was announced on Feb. 2, had decided to open negotiations with the United States, Brazil and Rumania, to accept manufactured Belgian articles in exchange for raw materials and cereals.

Belgium is making good progress in rebuilding farms; nearly half her devastated area has been restored to cultivation. There was a halt in industrial progress in the latter half of January, owing to the world-wide slackening of buying, but there are indications that her prosperity is regarded as assured by the outside world. A loan of \$30,000,000 was obtained in America at 8 per cent. to run twenty years; the Belgian franc is worth more than the French franc, and the disparity is increasing in Belgium's favor, while Pittsburgh glass manufacturers say they cannot compete with those in Belgium and some intend to establish their plants there.

# THE INDEMNITY ISSUE IN FRANCE

*New Cabinet, headed by Aristide Briand, strikes stormy waters at the beginning of its career, owing to a conflict of opinion in regard to the sum to be exacted from Germany—Ex-President Poincare as leader of the opposition—Reducing the French Army*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE Ministerial crisis in France, involving the resignation of Premier Leygues and an unsuccessful attempt of M. Péret to form a new Government, was finally resolved by Aristide Briand, a keen and experienced party leader, who had participated in six former Cabinets. M. Briand accepted the task of forming a new Cabinet on Jan. 16. His Cabinet was made up as follows:

Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aristide Briand.  
Minister of Justice, M. Bonnevay.  
Minister of the Interior, Pierre Marraud.  
Minister of Finance, Paul Doumer.  
Minister of War, Louis Barthou.  
Minister of the Navy, M. Guist'hau.  
Minister of Education and Fine Arts, Leon Berard.  
Minister of Public Works, M. Le Trocquer.  
Minister of Commerce, Lucien Dior.  
Minister of Agriculture, M. Lefebvre du Prey.  
Colonial Minister, Albert Sarraut.  
Minister of Labor, Daniel-Vincent.  
Minister for the Liberated Districts, M. Loucheur.  
Minister of Hygiene, M. Leredu.  
Minister of Pensions, M. Maginot.

Two of those chosen were Senators and thirteen Deputies. Practically all parties were represented.

The new Premier laid his program before the Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 20 for approval. For four hours he had to listen to speeches of warning and advice from all sides of the House as to what policy he must adopt to win the support of Parliament at the Interallied Conference on Reparations to be held in Paris the following week. The Premier carefully avoided committing the new Government to any definite method for compelling Germany to pay.

We have a treaty of peace with Germany [he said], but we have not yet peace—real peace, the only peace which can be

solid and durable; a peace of justice and morality which will consecrate the essential rights and assure the security of France. We will obtain this indispensable security only if Germany disarms. That is for our country the vital question which imposes itself upon the Government as the first and most sacred duty. We will not fail.

The reconstruction of our ravaged soil and our destroyed industries and the balancing of our finances will be possible only if Germany executes the reparation which the Treaty of Versailles imposes upon her. To this end our allies will give us their aid. We ask it of them in the name of right and justice, for which we fought, for which we conquered.

Important features of the Briand program were the following: France will not intervene in the internal affairs of Russia, but will not admit that the Soviet armies shall cross the Russian frontiers to attack the allies of France. This refers especially to Poland. Peace with Turkey must be made effective, with all regard for the new conditions. Other features of the program were: Reduction of the military service without weakening the military force of France so long as Europe remains unpacified; reduction of expenditures; reorganization of the financial administration; intensification of reconstruction; favoring of the working classes.

## POLICY ON INDEMNITIES

The approval of the members of the House was manifested with the greatest vigor when the Premier outlined his German program, and especially when he declared that France would not sanction the prosperity of Germany while France, her victim, was still in the depths. In response to an interpellation demanding definitely what the Premier intended to ask for at the coming Interallied Conference, M.

Briand indicated that he would favor fixing what Germany owed theoretically, and later fixing the sum that she could pay. M. Briand said:

From a business point of view it is the worst possible moment to estimate Germany's ability to pay, because she is now at her lowest. To make a definite settlement now would be a fool's bargain. Germany has faculties of production, she is working hard, she will recover. We must agree on how to obtain the maximum payment. \* \* \* It is said abroad that, because France does not fix her bill, she is imperialist. Before all the world I say that is false. France is patient, but her patience must not be construed as weakness.

M. Briand closed his statement with an appeal for confidence. This he received by a vote of 475 to 68, one of the strongest votes ever given to a French Cabinet. Party leaders, however, during the debate, made it plain that they would not hesitate to overthrow Briand and his Government if he failed to win results in the coming negotiations.

#### TERMS REJECTED BY GERMANY

The Interallied Conference met in Paris on Jan. 24, and the discussions continued for several days. M. Briand was much handicapped by the unrestrained utterances of certain elements of the French press, which also annoyed Lloyd George. Final agreement was not reached until midnight of Jan. 29. This agreement, which represented a compromise, did not fix a definite total sum, though the aggregate payments were estimated at about 200,000,000,000 gold marks, to which was added an ad valorem tax of 12½ per cent. on German exports after the first five years. [A full account of the Interallied Conference will be found elsewhere in these pages.]

Premier Briand's report of this result to the French Cabinet, which was presided over by President Millerand, received unqualified approval. The President even commended M. Briand. The question remained whether or not it would be accepted by the Chamber. Meanwhile, however, the French were stunned by an unexpected development. The interallied note to Berlin setting forth the terms of the Paris decision aroused a formidable storm in Germany; Dr. Simons, the German Foreign Minister, on Feb. 1 declared before the Reichstag that Germany would refuse to

accept the agreement, and would accept the invitation of the allied Governments to send delegates to a conference in London on March 1, only with the intention of presenting new proposals.

This was a heavy blow to the prestige of the new French Cabinet, and opened the way for bitter attacks upon the Premier's whole scheme. These onslaughts emanated principally from M. Poincaré, former President of France, and his principal supporter, André Tardieu, who demanded that France refuse all further concessions to Germany and insist on full execution of the Versailles Treaty. An impassioned attack made by Tardieu in the Chamber on Feb. 3 and 4 was answered by M. Briand, who declared that the Versailles Treaty, though theoretically perfect, had proved itself to be mechanically defective in the realization of practical aims.

The opposing factions thus stood clearly outlined, President Millerand and M. Briand seeking to maintain the entente with England at almost any cost, and the Poincaré faction demanding that France cut loose from England, and use the mailed fist to deal with Germany. In a scathing letter published in the Temps on Feb. 6 M. Poincaré attacked M. Briand mercilessly. The Premier should go to the London conference, he declared, with the full understanding that there could be no bargaining on France's reparation demands. On the result of that conference, it was believed, the Briand Cabinet would stand or fall.

#### FRANCE'S FINANCIAL CRISIS

The report on the 1921 budget, which was read before the Chamber on Jan. 15, declared that "the Ministry of Finance at the present time is going through a grave crisis." Thoroughgoing reorganization of the Ministry was advocated. The Budget Commission, said the report, was striving resolutely to maintain the principle of equilibrium between the budget and the tax revenue. It had refused the imposing of new taxes. It was further striving for important economies, and had urged a reduction of 2,550,000 francs covering various departments, railways, war, navy, &c. The report added:

The deficit figures are frightful. And yet France has not disbursed the sums necessary to keep its pledges to the devastated

regions, the reconstruction of which is hampered by lack of money, endangering peace, the rehabilitation of our finances and the economic restoration of Europe.

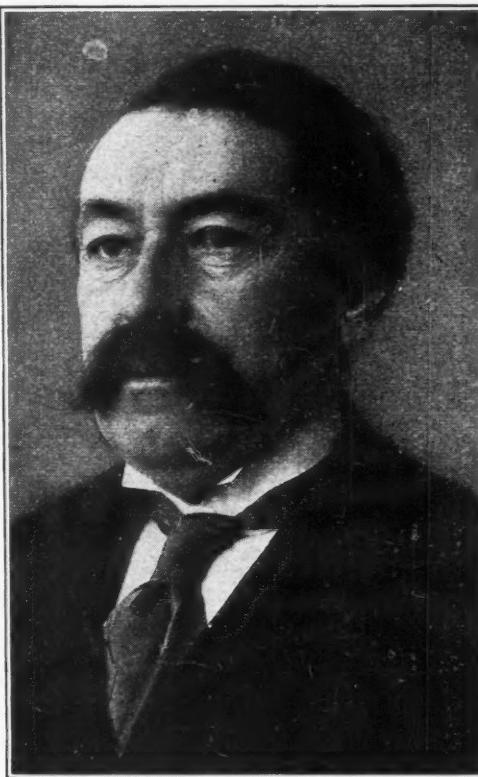
A powerful auxiliary organization intermediary between the devastated regions and the Government was created on Jan. 17, when a number of the most prominent bankers and manufacturers of France met in general assembly and drew up plans for a society to be known as the Industrial Union of Credit for Reconstruction. The founder, M. Laederich, outlined the society's aims. It would bend its efforts to increase the loan capacity of the devastated area, to form groups of interests, and to act for them with the Government. It would be, above all, an expert advisory body, familiar with every detail of reconstruction, which the *sinistrés* could consult in any emergency.

#### LABOR AND COMMUNISM

The decision of the French courts dissolving the General Confederation of Labor, and condemning to fine and imprisonment the principal leaders involved in the conspiracy to overthrow the Government last May, was received by the French trade unions with loud cries of protest. The judgment was appealed against, and the confederation continued its activities meanwhile, on the assumption that the organization would continue to live. On Jan. 15 it sent a delegation of labor experts to the devastated regions, including an engineer, an architect, the secretary of the Building Federation, and the secretary of the Economic Council of Labor, to study the whole question of reconstruction and to formulate a policy based on its examination of the ascertained facts. Meanwhile a manifesto was issued by the Executive Committee of the confederation describing the judgment as an act of vengeance against the working class, a provocation of the proletariat, which would have no effect, as the organization would continue to exist. The Socialist Communist Party, acting under orders from Lenin, was using the judgment as propaganda in its own interests, and was backing the Association of Trade Unions of the Seine in an attack upon the present leaders of the confederation.

The French Government, in the face of

the growing power of the French Communists, did not remain inactive. The police on the last day of January started a vigorous campaign to rid the republic of agents of the Soviet Government and caught a considerable number of Communists who had been actively plotting a revolution. The most important arrest was that of a Russian named Abramovitch, said to have been a member of the Moscow Extraordinary Commission and to have been sent to France by Trotzky to organize and



ARISTIDE BRIAND  
The new Premier of France

direct the French Communists. The annual report of the Prefect of Paris showed that during the previous year some 1,000 foreigners, convicted of anti-governmental propaganda, had been expelled from the country.

The War Department gave out official figures in January showing that the de-

mobilization of the class of 1919, after three years of service, at the end of March, 1920, would mean the liberation of 230,000 men from the army. The active forces would remain at a level of 494,000 men, 301,000 of whom would serve in the armed forces abroad, in Germany, the East, or Morocco, and 193,000 would be retained in the metropolis. These figures may be used to modify a statement sent to the United States Congress by Secretary Baker on Feb. 9, to the effect that France possesses today the greatest standing army in the world. Secretary Baker's statement was based on the estimated total of 732,000 regular troops, which, by the contemplated re-demobilization, will be considerably reduced.

At sunrise on the morning of Jan. 28 the body of France's unknown soldier was

finally laid to rest below the great vault of the Arc de Triomphe. Six soldiers bore the coffin from the chamber in the arch, in which it had lain since Nov. 11, while a single bugle blew the call, "Aux Champs!" ("To the field!") The monument raised in honor of General Galliéni in the town of St. Raphael was dedicated on Jan. 16 amid impressive ceremonies.

Speeches delivered in January before the Consultative Council of Alsace and Lorraine at Strasbourg showed that considerable dissatisfaction was developing in the newly annexed provinces regarding the teaching of French in the public schools. It was charged by Alsatian speakers that the result had been so far that the children could speak and write neither language correctly. No present change was contemplated by the administration.

## THE LABOR PROBLEM IN SPAIN

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

**G**Eneral MARTINEZ ANIDO, the Military Governor of Barcelona, continued his war against the Syndicalists when the latter attempted to revive their campaign of murder and intimidation of employers and loyal employees early in the year. The rival organization, the Sindicato Libre, also took a hand, and on Jan. 22 shot dead Hermene Gildo La Casa, who had promoted the strikes among the foreign plants last year. Meanwhile the Sindicato Unico had slain Police Inspector Espejo, one of Anido's most valuable men.

The drastic measures taken at Barcelona brought out protests from the Madrid press led by *El Liberal*, and, faced with the new situation, the Dato Ministry tried several times to resign, but was kept in office at the urgent request of the King. Taking issue with the complaint of *El Liberal*, the Clerical paper, *El Debate*, and the organ of the army, the *Correspondencia Militar*, both suggested from different points of view that government by Parliament be suspended for five years, and that a military dictator be appointed to restore order and protection and make life and industry possible. The *Militar* said:

We do not often express opinions, but today we feel obliged to do so. The energetic treatment being applied to the social problems should not be interrupted. If Señor Dato cannot continue in office, General Martinez Anido should be called from Barcelona and continue, as Prime Minister, the policy he is pursuing as Governor of Barcelona.

An article in the Catholic paper written by Professor Fernando Perez Bueno of the Madrid University said:

Discussion of the validity of the writs returning the Deputies shows continual misdemeanors and frauds. Can we expect such men to govern us properly? What we need is the closing of the Cortes, suppression of universal suffrage and also trial by jury and removal of the municipal and Provincial Diets. At the same time a dictatorial Cabinet should be formed which would immediately prepare a budget and take over great rural and urban properties, especially when unproductive, and also industrial, mining and banking wealth. Within five years it could make Spain a modern country.

Reforms are needed in hygiene, education, transportation and the army, with the suppression of gambling, the introduction of a system for provisioning the country and the furnishing of cheap houses. After five years such a dictatorial Government could call the Cortes and undertake to reform the Constitution.

# PAYING MEXICO'S FOREIGN DEBTS

*President Obregon working on a plan to refund all old bonds and resume interest payments—Peace with the oil companies.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE most significant step taken by Mexico to settle her foreign relations is the Government's announced intention to refund the external debt and begin interest payments, which have been in default since the beginning of the Carranza régime. President Obregon apparently is determined that Mexico shall fulfill all her financial obligations. This is the more easy now because income exceeds expenses and the Treasury has a surplus.

Five nations—France, Switzerland, Great Britain, Holland and the United States—were concerned in the meeting of the American section of the International Committee on Feb. 8 to consider Mexico's invitation to discuss a basis of agreement to settle the external debt. Thomas W. Lamont presided at the meeting. At its close an answer was drafted pointing out that the committee would not feel free to accept the invitation at once, but must first consult with the State Department, which, it was believed, would desire that the committee take up the matter with representatives of the incoming Administration. The desire of the Obregon Government to rehabilitate Mexico's finances led to a marked rise in Mexican bonds, of which there are \$48,292,711 5 per cents. outstanding and \$37,037,500 4 per cents.

To put the country on a sound financial footing more than twenty Mexican banks, which formerly had authority to issue paper money and were closed during Carranza's administration, received permission on Feb. 3 to resume business through a decree of President Obregon. All claims under 2,000 pesos must be paid immediately in gold and the others in six years, and all paper money must be redeemed in eight years. The Secretary of the Treasury announced that the banks affected by the decree held Government obligations totaling 55,000,000 pesos, which are to be redeemed partly in gold and partly in Government notes.

"Mexico is now entering a new era of

politics. We are trying to work on a basis of morality and honesty," the President said in a reception he gave to foreign newspaper correspondents on Jan. 19, and these words furnish the keynote to his policy. In a general interview on that occasion he outlined the measures that he proposed to submit to Congress, which he had called to meet in special session on Feb. 7. They include a new banking law, legislation looking to labor insurance, an agrarian law favoring the building up of small rural properties, and petroleum legislation to interpret Article XXVII. of the Constitution of 1917 regarding oil deposits. The latter will have first place on the Congressional program.

President Obregon has in mind also a measure on international commerce to relieve the present trade situation. Under a plan that extends the warehouse system and establishes deposits of merchandise in the principal cities of the republic, a local merchant will be able to select goods to be delivered at once, the duties—which will be lower—to be payable when the goods are taken out.

Peace apparently is about to be concluded with the oil companies, which, under the Carranza decrees, would be forced to relinquish their titles in favor of the State. The companies, after denouncing their titles, might apply for permits to operate the properties. Failing in denunciations, the holdings were open to denunciation by other persons. The United States held this to be unlawful confiscation of rights and, on Jan. 12, sent a vigorous protest to Mexico on account of the issuing of a number of denunciation titles during the closing days of the de la Huerta régime. At a Mexican Cabinet council, held on Jan. 16, it was decided that Article XXVII. was not retroactive, and on Jan. 24 the Secretary of Commerce suspended all action under denunciations not filed by the owners or lessees of lands on which the claims are located. This relieved the situation and was followed a

few days later by granting five drilling permits to the Mexican Petroleum Company on claims which had already been "jumped" by third parties.

Congress convened on Feb. 7 and President Obregon in his message, which he delivered personally, said the oil question had "assumed an international character of grave aspect," and he urged its immediate solution. Besides the laws referred to in his interviews with foreign correspondents, one increasing the responsibilities of the President and his Cabinet was urged.

Mexico, in one sense, has been fortunate in being without credit: it has been unable to contract debts abroad. Its only bonded indebtedness consists of the old debts of the time of Diaz and Huerta, which are far from being heavy in a land of so great resources. Mexico is the only country in the world on a strictly gold basis, all paper money having disappeared from circulation. This has removed from business transactions all the difficulties of fluctuating exchange, and, with the absence of internal strife, leaves the way clear for profitable trade with the United States and Europe. President Obregon's idea is to give Mexico so efficient a Government that recognition will be forthcoming. This is a matter, however, which will go over until the advent of the Harding Administration.

Mexico is about to return the railways from Government control to private ownership, and a commission was appointed, on Jan. 21, by President Obregon to work out a satisfactory plan. In this connection the visit of William G. McAdoo and Jouett Shouse, one of the officials of the Mexico and Orient Railway, to Mexico City was made the occasion of many rumors. The physical condition of Mexican railways, owing to frequent revolutions, leaves much to be desired. There was great freight congestion at Tampico and Vera Cruz in January. Francisco Perez, Director General of the National Railways of Mexico, made a tour of the United States in an effort to obtain locomotives and cars, and had succeeded early in February in leasing thirty locomotives and 200 thousand-gallon tank cars. This is a much needed help, for business has been increasing too fast for transportation to keep up with it. The parcel post trade has grown to such proportions that the Post Office made a rule, effective

Feb. 1, charging five centavos a day storage on all packages received in Mexico from the United States and not withdrawn from the mails by the addressees after ten days.

The Pan American Labor Conference in Mexico City on Jan. 14 recommended that organized labor in Latin-America use every effort to obtain admission of their respective Governments to the League of Nations. A resolution introduced by the Mexican delegation was adopted on Jan. 16, providing for the establishment of immigration agencies in all Latin-American countries for the dissemination of information regarding labor conditions. A resolution favoring the evacuation of Santo Domingo by the United States force there was directed to be telegraphed to President Wilson on Jan. 14, but was held up by Samuel Gompers because the United States had just announced such a policy. It was finally amended to favor acceleration of the withdrawal of the force from Santo Domingo. Samuel Gompers was re-elected President of the Federation, the delegations of Mexico, Salvador and Guatemala voting against him, and the conference adjourned on Jan. 17. The next meeting will be held in Guatemala City.

General Heliadoro Ferez, with five officials who rebelled with General Murgia, were captured in the State of Hildago and executed on Jan. 14 after a drumhead court-martial. Murgia and his brother escaped in the dress of cattlemen. Several other small attempts at revolt were promptly put down.

Thirty-five colleges and universities in the United States have offered aid to students from Mexico under a plan for the interchange of Mexican-American scholarships, which is being developed by the American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico. President Obregon is attempting to organize all scientific men and plans the foundation of an agricultural school in every State of the Republic, chiefly for the benefit of Mexican peons and other small land owners.

President de la Huerta's decree closing all saloons on Saturdays and Sundays in Mexico City has been virtually nullified by a decision of the Supreme Court, naming several hundred cafés and cantinas where liquor might be sold over Sunday and later expanding it to include them all.

## THE CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

*Four republics unite in the creation of a new federated State with 5,000,000 people—Nicaragua stays out for the present—Events in other Central American Republics.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE compact creating the union of Central American republics was signed by the delegates of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador at San José, the Costa Rican capital, on Jan. 22. The Nicaraguan delegates, instructed by their Government, refused to sign and withdrew from the conference. All five delegations had previously come to an agreement on the disputed article regarding treaties. Nicaragua did not wish to surrender treaty-making rights in view of her pact with the United States regarding a possible Nicaragua canal. A provision was inserted in the compact to permit her admission at any time, and Nicaragua on Feb. 8 announced that she was about to send a diplomatic mission to the other countries with a view to clearing up the disputed points.

The treaty, which ultimately creates a republic of more than 5,000,000 people, is modeled on the Constitution of the United States, with three separate branches, the executive, the legislative and the judicial. The executive power is granted to a Federal Council, composed of popularly elected delegates, each State to elect one Councilman and one alternate for terms of five years. From their number the Councilmen are to elect a President and Vice President, each to hold office one year, and neither may succeed himself immediately in office. Liberty of conscience is guaranteed, compulsory education provided, and no Federated State shall be recognized whose head is the product of a revolutionary movement. On ratification by three of the four States the treaty becomes effective. Honduras ratified on Feb. 5.

GUATEMALA.—Announcement was made on Jan. 20 that Guatemala's standing army of 15,000 men would be reduced to 5,000. Illiterates are forbidden to take part in political contests under a new law. To help build up export trade the Government is preparing to reduce or remove du-

ties to a large extent on all articles of export. The loss of revenue will be recovered by the adoption of an income tax.

HONDURAS.—Don Alberto Membreño, former President of Honduras, died in Tegucigalpa on Feb. 4. Besides being President he was Minister to the United States in 1915, and headed two revolutionary movements in Honduras, one in October, 1919, and another in February, 1920.

NICARAGUA.—About thirty American marines on Feb. 9 raided the offices of the Tribuna of Managua, a newspaper which, they charged, had published defamatory statements about some of their number. The presses were destroyed and the offices wrecked. Twenty-one of the marines attached to the United States Legation Guard there were later arrested by American military authorities. Secretary Daniels ordered Rear Admiral H. F. Bryan, commanding the American special service squadron in Central American waters, to take charge of the situation. Mr. Daniels denounced the marines' act and said a court of inquiry and courts-martial would follow. La Tribuna is a paper that is opposed to the Government's friendliness to the United States.

PANAMA.—Charging another evidence of encroachment on the part of the United States, President Porras protested energetically on Jan. 11 against the seizure by Canal Zone authorities of about 250 acres of land east of Colon, on the Bahia de las Minas, on which there is a hill said to be adapted for works defending the eastern entrance of the Panama Canal. The President, on Dec. 30, received a note from Colonel J. J. Morrow, acting Governor of the Canal Zone, stating that the land "had been taken for the defense of the canal" under the provisions of the Hay-Varilla treaty. Panama denies that the treaty gives any right to take territory without

her consent, and declares that such procedure would "give the United States the right to occupy the entire Panaman Republic, should it be deemed necessary for canal purposes." In addition, Panama urges that such matters should be considered through diplomatic channels and not through Canal Zone officials. On this point there is a difference between the State and War Departments at Washington. The military authorities regard the treaty as furnishing sufficient authority, while the State Depart-

ment takes the view that diplomatic exchanges should have preceded the taking of land from the little republic.

Twelve of fourteen navy seaplanes from San Diego, Cal., arrived at Panama on Jan. 15 after a successful trip of 3,200 miles in seventeen flying days. There was one fatality, Chief Radio Electrician Cain having been killed at Fonseca Bay through being struck by a propeller. The NC-6 was delayed by a hurricane and the NC-5 was wrecked off the Gulf of Nicoya.

## POPULAR IGNORANCE REGARDING CANADA

*To the Editor of Current History:*

There are some strange ideas afloat in the United States affecting Canada. One is that Canada is somewhere in the arctic regions.

The plain fact is that the world today is cursed by ignorance—ignorance of geographical conditions, of climate, of language, of social customs, of business methods, of literature, and, indeed, of all forms of human achievement or aspiration. Serious as this is, as between individuals, it becomes not only deplorable but highly dangerous as between nations. If the World War has taught mankind anything, it is that something should be done to combat this ignorance of every nation on the globe in respect to all other nations; for it should be plain that whereas ignorance makes for international misunderstanding and ill will, and even warfare, proper information tends to bring about international respect, good policy and permanent peace.

Particularly unfortunate is this ignorance when it has to do with two great neighboring nations like the United States and Canada. People living in Canada know rather more, on the whole, about the United States than do those living in this country respecting the Dominion. This is the wholly natural result of the present-day preponderance of population and of commercial activity on this side of the line. But with Canada growing—as she is—by leaps and bounds, it will become increasingly necessary, as the years pass, for Canadians to abate no effort to become fully acquainted with their neighbors to the south of them.

Passing to conditions here in the United States, one may well ask almost any of our fellow-citizens what mental picture confronts him when he encounters the word "Canada" in his

reading, or when he hears it spoken in conversation. Does he think vaguely of a land of snowy, wintry conditions—of ice palaces, dog sledges and voyageurs—of a species of picturesque wilderness? Or does he visualize great cities, handsome public buildings, throbbing factories, fine houses, extensive railroads, enormous field crops, big banks, capacious and bustling seaports, vast forests, wonderful scenery, enormous water powers, great universities, hospitals, churches, important and profitable newspapers, paper mills, fisheries, mineral deposits—and all these as the background for a social life of refinement and culture, and one that is of the highest charm to those within its scope because it knows books, and music, and art, and all elevating and ennobling things? In other words, is it realized fully that Canada is not a mere sweep of the mapmaker's color brush in the area to the north of the United States, but that it is a nation—big, progressive and growing—a very real and important neighbor of ours?

There is need for the immediate and persistent recognition of the immense size and the immense importance to mankind of the task of conferring international benefit by spreading international information; and particularly is there need on this continent for the increase and perpetuation of neighborly good feeling based upon neighborly acquaintance—and that, in turn, upon neighborly information. Nowhere is all this truer than as between the United States and Canada; and it is a work upon which, it seems to me, there should be immediate and active entrance in a large way, if not by Governments, then by individuals.

ARTHUR ELLIOT SPROUL.  
New York, Jan. 24, 1921.

# SOUTH AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

*Secretary Colby's tour and the visit of the Pacific Fleet help to check hostile propaganda—Labor troubles in Argentina and Chile add to the difficulties of export trade—Threatened retaliation for any increase made in United States duties upon Argentine goods.*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

THE tour of Secretary Colby tended to allay Latin-American mistrust of the designs of the United States. Members of his party reported on their return that South America's wartime friendship for us was rapidly waning, and that South Americans were going back to Europe as a trade centre as fast as Europe was prepared to supply their demand. Latin America feels that Colombia was robbed of Panama by the United States, and remembers Haiti, Santo Domingo and the invasion of Mexico. One observer, William H. Crawford, classifies the various degrees of dislike for America. The Uruguayans, he says, genuinely like the United States, and are her best friends in South America. Southern Brazil, German colonized, is anti-American, while nearer the Amazon there is prejudice on account of the high exchange rate, though the ruling class is friendly. In Argentina most of the business is in European hands, and agents have spread anti-American propaganda for trade reasons, so that there exists a genuine dislike. To counteract these insidious influences was Secretary Colby's mission, and it is believed that his visit will greatly contribute to a truer understanding between the two continents.

Another event tending to give South Americans a better appreciation of North American ideas was the visit of the Atlantic and Pacific fleets to the west coast. The Atlantic fleet passed through the Panama Canal and joined the Pacific fleet off Balboa on Jan. 20, steaming southward two days later, and continuing as a combined fleet until Jan. 28, when the Atlantic vessels headed for Callao and the Pacific for Valparaiso. This is the most powerful naval force ever concentrated in the Pacific, being made up of fourteen battleships, thir-

ty-six destroyers, two cruisers and a dozen supply vessels. The fleet arrived at Valparaiso on Jan. 31, and visits were exchanged between Admiral Hugh Rodman and Chilean naval officers. The Admiral and the higher officers of the fleet were guests of President Alessandri at a banquet in Santiago on Feb. 1. In an interview in the Mercurio Admiral Rodman stated that the visit was a manifestation of the true Monroe Doctrine as it is felt by the people of the United States and as they wish it felt among other American nations. "Nothing is more erroneous," he said, "than to believe that the North American spirit in the application of the doctrine tends to dominate and direct other nations. Our purpose, should the occasion arise, would be no other than to say to whatever European power attempted to intervene in America, 'Thus far and no further shalt thou go.'"

President Alessandri reviewed a parade of 600 American sailors from the Government House, and on Feb. 3 visited Admiral Rodman on board the flagship New Mexico, and reviewed a parade in Valparaiso of 4,000 sailors from the fleet. The vessels left for the North on Feb. 5.

Meanwhile the Atlantic fleet was being entertained in Peru, arriving at Callao on Feb. 1. Admiral Wilson called on President Leguia in Lima the same day and a banquet was given by the President for the visitors. The President, in an address, denounced "the sinister propaganda which has at times threatened to mar the relations between the United States and her sister republics in South America." A ball was given during the evening of Feb. 4 on board the Pennsylvania. Admiral Henry B. Wilson, aboard his flagship, led the Atlantic fleet out of Callao Harbor the next day,

steaming southward along the Peruvian Coast to meet the Pacific fleet in a sham battle closely approximating conditions encountered in wartime. Both fleets were expected at Panama on Feb. 16.

A proposal by Argentina and Brazil for the arbitration of the dispute between Chile and Peru over the provinces of Tacna and Arica is expected to be presented to President Harding soon after his inauguration.

The Permanent Committee on Communications, formed at the second Pan-American financial conference on Feb. 3, adopted a resolution urging Congress to pass the bill authorizing the navy to accept press messages to and from South America. Rear Admiral Bullard favored the acquisition of radio stations, cable service and privately-owned trade papers in Latin-America, so that the viewpoint of the United States might be better presented. Another incident tending toward increased communication was the adoption of the two-cent letter rate, effective Feb. 1, between the United States, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru.

Reports of commerce in 1920 show that the total trade with Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay was \$1,044,000,000, against \$917,000,000 in 1919. American exports were \$457,000,000, an increase of more than \$100,000,000, and imports were \$587,000,000, an increase of about \$25,000,000.

**ARGENTINA**—The sharp reaction in Argentine trade is due not alone to world-wide conditions. Exports of cattle, hides, sheepskins and wool have come to a standstill, owing to the action of the produce market union and the port workers' labor organization in refusing "permits" to load ships. The former has been exacting an "export tax" from exporters, payable before its members would consent to handle exports, and the port workers co-operated with them. A boycott was declared against firms refusing to submit. The union later announced that, as some exporters were clandestinely shipping hides for the boycotted firms, it had decided to prohibit exports entirely.

Argentina has taken its first step in reprisal against the projected emergency tariff in the United States, which would raise an almost impassable barrier to trade. Deputy Saccone has prepared a bill to be

introduced on the reopening of the Argentine Congress on May 1, should the Fordney bill have been passed in the United States before that time. It provides for a 40 per cent. tariff on all imports from countries which have increased the duties or levied new ones on Argentine products.

With such obstacles as decreasing prices and advancing exchange rates Argentine merchants are disputing the payment on more than \$40,000,000 worth of American merchandise in the Buenos Aires Custom House or on its way to that port. The fact that the Argentine wheat crop was 800,000 tons less than in 1919 does not help to improve matters.

**BOLIVIA**—Bautista Saavedra, leader of the revolution which overthrew the Government of President Guerra some months ago, resigned as Provisional President on Jan. 24, but was elected two days later by a national convention. His Government has been recognized by the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chile, according to a dispatch of Feb. 10.

**BRAZIL**—The population of Brazil, by the census taken last September, was announced on Jan. 13 by the Brazilian Embassy to be 30,553,509. Minas Geraes was the largest State in point of population, having 5,788,887. The State of Rio Janeiro had 1,501,969 and the city 1,157,873. The great majority of Brazilians are of Portuguese descent. About 12 per cent. are negroes, largely concentrated in the four central States of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes and Bahia.

The Brazilian Ambassador at Washington on Jan. 25 informed the State Department that President Pessoa was in thorough accord with President Wilson's telegram of Jan. 18 to President Hymans of the League of Nations regarding Armenia and Russia. Brazil is the first great power to respond to the President's appeal to refrain from armed action against Russia and in favor of the preservation of Russian integrity.

The buildings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Stock Exchange were considerably damaged by anarchist bombs on Feb. 9.

**CHILE**—One of the few countries able to reduce their national debts during the war

was the Republic of Chile, whose direct debt expressed in United States currency at the end of 1913 was \$175,500,000 and is now \$161,265,000. Chile has no railroad problem, for she owns and operates 2,836 miles of railroad, telegraph and other properties valued at \$240,000,000. A continuous world demand for Chilean nitrate for use in the manufacture of munitions contributed to the country's prosperity.

Negotiation of a loan of approximately \$25,000,000 was authorized on Jan. 18 to extend the State railways. Jorge Matte, Chilean Foreign Minister, resigned on Jan. 22.

Chile, in spite of her financial soundness, has her labor troubles on account of the closing of nitrate plants and reduced production in the copper mines. In Antofagasta Province unemployed workmen at the San Gregorio nitrate plant on Feb. 3 clashed with the military guards and defeated them, killing several soldiers and later assassinating Daniel Jones, manager of the plant. The workmen lost over thirty men killed and wounded in the encounter, but took possession of the plant, from which they were finally driven by reinforcements of troops. Measures have been approved to remedy the unemployment situation in the nitrate district, where 20,000 men are out of work.

According to a message received in Valparaiso, Chile, Commander John Cope of the British Imperial Expedition, which hopes ultimately to reach the South Pole by airplane, sailed from Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, Dec. 20. Living in tents and depending on seals and penguins for fresh meat, Commander Cope, with four companions, purposes to spend eighteen months surveying and charting the western shores of Weddell Sea, and hopes to make other scientific investigations in the Antarctic regions.

**ECUADOR**—Exchange on New York at Guayaquil on Feb. 3 reached 320 per cent., owing to the scantiness of exports. Accepted drafts for about \$10,000,000, it was stated, would not be paid on maturity because of the impossibility of obtaining New York checks.

President Tamayo issued a decree on Feb. 1 ordering all fit men in Ecuador to sign for military service in March.

**PERU**—A staff of about thirty American educators is being sent to Peru to act as supervisors in schools scattered over the country to introduce American methods of instruction.

## WHERE BEASTS HUNT MEN

THE annual mortality report of the Indian Home Office for the year 1919 is in many respects an extraordinary document. It is called "Returns of Mortality from Wild Animals and Venomous Snakes." This amazing State paper shows that last year wild animals in British India killed 2,637 persons, and that 20,273 succumbed to snake bites. Tigers claimed 1,162 victims, leopards 469, wolves 294, bears 118, elephants 60, hyenas 33, wild boars 201, crocodiles 185. The tiger was especially destructive in Behar, Orissa and Madras, the elephant in Assam, the wolf in the United Provinces. The natives in Behar

and Orissa are an ignorant and aboriginal people, whose only recourse, when a man-eater ravages a group of villages, is to send post-haste to the Collector Sahib imploring him to dispatch an expedition to their rescue. The heaviest deathroll was shown for this region. A large percentage of the deaths from snake bite will be eliminated when the poorest natives learn to wear shoes. The natives' religious scruples against killing any living thing, even a venomous snake, are a potent cause of the appalling mortality in India each year from attacks of wild beasts and serpents.

## SOLVING CUBA'S ELECTION PROBLEMS

*Progress made by General E. H. Crowder in straightening out political and financial tangles*

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 12, 1921]

GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER, who was sent to Cuba to assist in untangling some knotty election questions, began by warning the Cubans of the danger of the delay caused by the electoral board's failure to function; if continued, he said, this might result in half the seats of Congress becoming vacant. More speedy action followed, and the Supreme Court, on Jan. 19, rendered its first decision in the appealed election cases decided by the Santa Clara Provincial Board. The decision was in favor of Alfredo Zayas, President-elect on the face of the returns of the November election. The Judges held that there must be a new election in Santa Fe precinct, but this did not affect the general result and assured the vote of Santa Clara Province for Zayas. On Jan. 22 Dr. Zayas issued a statement maintaining that he had been legally elected, and hinting that certain elements of the Liberal Party wanted to prevent the new Government from being constituted at the legal time in order to provoke intervention by the United States. A special relief bill sanctioned by General Crowder was passed by both houses of the Cuban Congress; it empowers the Central Electoral Board to call for simultaneous elections in all colleges where new elections must be held.

Another task set for General Crowder was to unravel the financial tangle caused by the sugar slump and the consequent moratorium. After several conferences a bill was agreed upon providing for a sliding scale of liquidation of banking and commercial obligations covered by the moratorium of Oct. 12. It provided for gradual payments, starting with 15 per cent.; mercantile establishments have 105 days, if they so request, and banking institutions 135 days. The bill was signed by President Menocal on Jan. 28 and went into effect on Feb. 1. A second law provided machinery

for the liquidation of such banks or commercial houses as might be obliged to suspend payment, following the lines of the law governing Federal receiverships in the United States.

Meanwhile the dock congestion, which has been hindering trade for months, was broken in January, and 5,500,000 packages of freight were started moving. Firemen were called on Jan. 18 to flush off the unoccupied parts of the out-of-door wharves, which had not been bared for a year. Merchandise later was received on the Government wharf. If not removed it is taken to Government warehouses and held for about ten days, when, if not taken away, it may be auctioned off.

President Menocal issued a statement on Feb. 2 asserting the intention of Congress to regulate the operation of private banks and providing for periodical examination. A satisfactory minimum price for the coming sugar crop is desired, and it was expected the regulation would come in the form of a decree prohibiting the exportation of sugar below a certain price. Cuba previously had filed a protest at Washington against a proposed increase of almost 4 cents a pound in the duty on Cuban sugar.

Cuba has settled the Western Union cable fight to secure American connection for its lines to Brazil through co-operation with the British monopoly, which called forth the United States Government's threat to prevent landing in Florida. By Presidential decree of Feb. 3 the concession formerly granted to the company is suspended, and it is forbidden to connect its Barbadoes cable at Cojimar or anywhere else on the Cuban coast.

The laying of three telephone cables between Key West and Havana was begun on Feb. 9. These cables were made in England and are the longest telephone cables in the world.

# SCIENCE AND DISCOVERY

## Mystery of Volcanic Action

*Recent eruptions and their bearing upon two rival theories of the causes of such phenomena—Creating volcanic gases by artificial means—An explanation of the strange and beautiful colors in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes—Other scientific discoveries*

VOLCANIC activity in several parts of the world, notably in Japan, the Chilean Andes and at Mount Vesuvius in Italy, has recently called forth special efforts to solve the secrets of such phenomena.

In Japan, on Dec. 16, 1920, the Volcano Asama caused great panic by violent eruptions, which strewed the country with ashes over an area of many square miles. The whole crater became a blazing furnace, while a thick shaft of smoky flame shot skyward. The neighboring towns were jarred by heavy earthquake shocks. The volcanic fires caught the forests and several villages, and a sea of fiery lava covered an area two miles broad at the foot of the mountain.

A violent eruption of Mount Vesuvius last September opened a new mouth of fire more than a mile and a half in diameter between the precipices of the old crater. What most impresses the eyewitnesses of such phenomena is the mystery that still enshrouds volcanic action. They behold the bombs and fragments of rock projected from the column of fire and smoke, and find a striking resemblance to the form and action of a supergun. Miraculously, this gun is both fired and forged at the same time. The explosive smoke plumes of volcanoes rise to heights varying from one to twelve miles. The falling volcanic projectiles go immediately to the building up of the outside cone of the volcano. The matters that fall back into the crater are projected again, together with part of the crater walls, and thus is formed the cup-shaped opening.

All scientists agree that the source of volcanic action is the central heat of the earth, probably a white-hot central nucleus. Data on this central heat have been collected by means of deep oil wells; at a depth of 7,500 feet a temperature of 168.6 degrees Fahrenheit was recorded, and the rate of increase



(Times Wide World Photos)

The smoking cone of Vesuvius is directly over the volcanic conduit. Its formation began after the entire top of the mountain blew off in 1906. This remarkable photograph was taken by Frank A. Perret of the Smithsonian Institution

indicated that the boiling point would be found at a depth of 10,000 feet.

Experiments have been made with granitic porphyry, pulverized and dried at a temperature of 100 degrees Centigrade. This, when red hot, sets free 1 to 1.5 per cent. of water vapor, besides hydrogen, sulphuretted hydrogen and other volcanic gases. Obviously, then, in order to provoke volcanic action, it is only necessary for the internal heat of the earth to ascend into certain strata of the earth's crust. The only question in dispute is, How does this internal heat approach the surface?

Certain scientists hold that volcanic action is of marine origin, citing the fact that nearly all terrestrial volcanoes are situated on islands of the sea or along the continental seacoasts. Of 415 active or quiescent volcanoes, 244 are on islands and 160 along the continental edges; whereas only 11 are situated in Central Asia or the middle of the Sahara Desert, remote from existing oceans. Three-fourths of all the volcanoes are found within the tropics.

As the bottom of the sea, where it is 2,000 meters deep, is equal in temperature to the top of a mountain 2,000 meters high, about Centigrade zero, underground isothermal lines or surfaces (those of equal temperature) would run parallel to the curve from the bottom of the ocean to the top of the mountain. So the steeper the coast the greater will be the degree of inclination of these isothermal lines or surfaces toward the sea. But at the bottom of the sea there is a pressure of 200 atmospheres. Therefore the water entering the mountain through the underground inlet cannot vaporize except at the isotherm of 365 degrees C., about eight miles below the bottom of the sea. This vapor will follow the isotherm up into the mountain, causing an eruption of gases and vapors.

Hence, for the marine volcanic theory is formulated the following law: Volcanic action in relation to the water of the ocean is proportional to the steepness of the continental slopes and their degree of convexity with respect to the ocean.

Other scientists hold that volcanoes are caused by shrinkage of a gradually cooling planet. They cite the following proofs: The Grand Cañon has become a region of elevation after long existence as a region of depression. In deep mines no surface water has been found much below 2,000 feet. Yet

lavas erupted from greater depths are porous and full of gases, of which 75 per cent. is steam. It is now known that such gases are the sole cause of the ejection of lava and all other volcanic phenomena, including geysers and hot springs. The source of these gases is believed to be a gaseous core in the earth, these gases being denser than the solids they will form when cold and containing in diffusion all known gases. The pressure of gases opens fractures and carries through the fractures the fused rock matter as dikes or sills. If these dikes reach the surface, volcanic action results. In the Grand Cañon and elsewhere craters are shown to be located above dikes.

One of the richest and most varied chemical depositories afforded by volcanic action was recently found in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes on the Aleutian Peninsula in Alaska. The valley is honeycombed by thousands of volcanic vents, or fumaroles, around the mouths of which the gases, cooling at various temperatures, have formed incrustations comprising a vast variety of chemical substances. The character of the valley was imparted by the great eruption of the Katmai Volcano in 1912 and that of the Novarupta earlier the same year.

The name of the valley is no misnomer, in view of the uninterrupted outpouring of the fumaroles distributed over fifty square miles of territory. This area is covered with a hardened mud-flow. The hot ejecta, falling on the snow-covered slopes of the north side of the valley during heavy rainfall, slid down and formed the mud-flow all over the valley floor. Baked hard by heat from below, the mud acquired the consistency of paving brick, but it was split and cracked according to the strains and stresses due to the irregularities of the underlying valley floor. The volcanic gases formed the vents by forcing their way up through the splits.

Through the many-hued smokes the sunshine reveals weird varieties of color, ranging from the blue-green algae covering slopes where ammonium fumes rise, to the sulphur rosettes formed around miniature vents close to larger ones. Large deposits of Venetian red show around cracks in the side of a gully where volcanic gases seep through. Impregnations of magnetite and vivianite color a hot blue mud. All over the valley occur lichen-like incrustations of po-

tassium, alum, and mixed crystals of gypsum and apatite. Salts, oxides and hydroxides of iron lend beautiful coloring to many incrustations. Many vents are choked by deposits of silica several feet high, and there are many yellow crystals of orpiment, arsenic, fluoride and corundum.

The vast variety of chemical deposits re-

sults from the cooling of the volcanic gases which issue at temperatures ranging from atmospheric to more than 400 degrees Centigrade. Each temperature produces a different chemical result. The aggregate of such results well bears out the theory that the earth has a central core containing in diffusion all the gases that are known.

## An Invention for Measuring Stars

Professor Albert A. Michelson of the University of Chicago, speaking before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, on Dec. 29, told of his achievement in measuring the sizes of stars, and of the astounding results shown by his measurement of Betelgeuse (Alpha Orionis), the dull red star in the upper shoulder of Orion. The distances of stars have long been measured by means of the parallax, the angle between lines made by viewing a star from two different points; but until the perfection of Professor Michelson's "interferometer" there had been no known means of direct measurement of a star's size. He had been using this instrument for some years in spectroscopic analysis, and even in determining the diameter of Jupiter's satellites; but its chief triumph came last Summer at the Mount Wilson Conservatory in Southern California, when he succeeded in measuring Betelgeuse.

If the professor's instrument is correct—and he believes it is—the diameter of Betelgeuse is 260,000,000 miles, or 300 times the diameter of our sun, making its volume 27,000,000 times that of the sun. In other words, if Betelgeuse were placed where our sun now is, its solid sphere would extend far beyond the whole orbit in which the earth swings, out almost to the orbit of Mars.

Professor Michelson used the eight-foot reflecting telescope of the observatory, with the mirror of the telescope obscured by an opaque cap, in which were two slits adjustable in width and distance apart. Thus, when the telescope was focused on a star, it showed, instead of an image of the star, a series of interference bands arranged at equal distances apart and parallel to the two slits. He separated the slits to a distance at which the fringes disappeared. Then, by a simple formula, he obtained the

angle subtended by the star. The distance of the star had been obtained long before by the parallax method, and, having both the distance and the angle, he readily calculated the star's diameter, approximately. In its perfected form the interferometer attachment to the telescope has two adjustable mirrors instead of the slits. The great service of the interferometer is that it obviates the atmospheric tremor which has been the chief obstacle in the way of measurements. Heretofore star diameters have been calculated, but have never been actually measured.

This achievement by Professor Michelson



(C) Harris & Ewing

PROFESSOR ALBERT A. MICHELSON  
Former Naval Reserve Commander, now  
member of Chicago University Faculty

is the crowning one among many in his long years of experimentation in the phenomena of light. It was the Michelson-Morley light

experiment which raised the problem out of which grew the famous Einstein theory of relativity.

## The Uncrowning of Mont Blanc

The vast ice cap on top of Mont Blanc, 15,782 feet above sea level, slipped from its place on Nov. 23, 1920, carrying with it an immense block of the limestone peak. Through the air for 10,000 feet fell the avalanche, landing on the Brevet Glacier with a detonation that shook houses fifty miles away. Carrying part of the glacier with it, the growing mass crashed its way down the Courmayeur Valley, filling the air with dust and flying fragments of ice and rock, tearing up the whole Pourtoud Forest, hurling aloft giant pine trees like feathers. Besides crushing the Brevet Glacier where it fell, it carried along the terminal moraine, damming up the mountain torrent of the Doire, and after shaking the earth on its

thundering ten-mile race came to rest miraculously in time to spare the Italian village of Pourtoud. The dwellers in the Courmayeur Valley rushed from their homes, thinking there was an earthquake. The thundering ball missed some of their houses by only a few yards. In spite of all the material ruin, no lives were lost. However, the Forest of Pourtoud, one of the most beautiful in the Alps, of great timber value, was destroyed. The avalanche was one of the greatest on record. Its magnitude is attributed to the abnormal drought prevailing throughout the Alps from the beginning of October; usually fresh autumnal snows cement the rocks and ice and hold them in place.

## Motor Power From Sound Waves

The invention of George Constantinesco, a Rumanian engineer, which secured to the Allies the mastery of the air and shortened the war, is proving a revolutionary factor in important industries. Constantinesco discovered a principle which he named "sonicity" (transmission of power by sound-waves through water), and invented his "sonic motor" to set the principle to work. When he began his demonstrations in England, in 1914, the head of the Stafford firm of W. H. Dorman & Co. quickly appreciated the wonderful possibilities of this sound-wave motor in all industries where hammering, drilling and riveting on a large scale are necessary. But industrial experiments were interrupted by the outbreak of the war. The sonic motor became a war secret and was applied solely to firing the machine guns on airplanes, making it possible to shoot between the rotating propeller blades, without injuring them, at the unheard-of rate of 2,000 shots a minute. The enemy had no device to compete with it, and it cleared the air of hostile craft as soon as it was installed in large numbers.

Sonicity, transmitted in a continuous current through a column of water with the

speed of sound, parallels electricity, which is transmitted in an alternating current through a metal medium with the speed of light. It does not carry power so high as does electricity, nor can it be used to transmit high power to great distances. However, it is available where the use of electricity is considered dangerous, as in coal mining operations, and is much more powerful and economical than compressed air or hydraulic pressure. In mining it is good to yoke with electricity, the dynamo being above ground. The sonic motor has driven drills through Cornish granite.

The simplicity of the principle of the sonic motor makes its revolutionary character all the more amazing. Classic treatises on this phase of physics declare liquids to be incompressible. M. Constantinesco proved liquids to be compressible by filling a steel tube with water and compressing the water by means of a plunger or piston; it took much greater force, however, to compress liquids than gases. He then used a steel tube filled with water, which was held in place by a plunger at each end. By striking a blow on one plunger a shock was communicated to the other

plunger by means of the sound-waves through the column of water, and the same shock could be communicated through the other plunger to the chuck of a drill or other tool or machine.

The motor that M. Constantinesco devised on this principle, of course, plays no part in the actual generation of power. Its function is to transmit energy to tools or machinery, whether reciprocal or rotary, portable or stationary. The outstanding claim made for it is high efficiency combined with economy; and in the matter of low initial cost maintenance, simplicity, adaptability and portability, sonicity is declared to rival electricity. Use is made of an "interrupter" gear to fire a machine gun or drive a drill or machine as a pneumatic tool is driven; only the sonic motor is more swift and powerful than the pneumatic tool, and

not so wasteful. In transmitting sonic energy long distances, as in deep mines, a long containing pipe is used, which can be tapped and branched at various points.

It was by studying sound-waves and the laws of musical harmony that M. Constantinesco was led to the mechanical applications he has revealed. Hence he chose the name sonicity to group under one term the phenomena of which he studied the laws and traced the applications. He found that all musical instruments have an apparatus for the transmission and transformation of sonic energy, though the quantities transmitted are too small for mechanical application. How to transmit large amounts of energy by means of sonorous vibrations, therefore, was the first problem the inventor overcame.

## THE ARMISTICE CAR

THE railway car in which Marshal Foch and the German representatives signed the armistice of 1918 was presented to the French Government on Dec. 9, 1920. When the war broke out this car had just been constructed as a buffet-restaurant car, and was mobilized by the French military com-

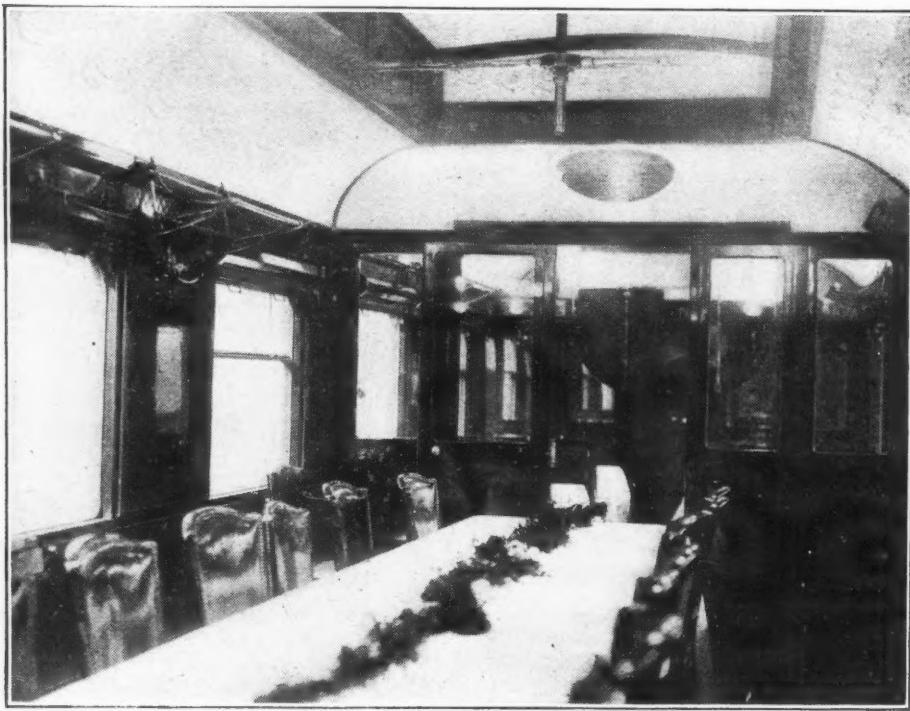
mand to facilitate communications. In 1918, when General Foch was placed in command, it was transferred to his personal service. It was in this car that the first armistice was signed and twice renewed.

Toward the middle of 1919, Marshal Foch returned the car to the Sleeping Car



(Times Wide World Photos)

HISTORIC SPOT OF THE ARMISTICE IN COMPIEGNE FOREST AS IT LOOKED LAST AUTUMN. A TWELVE-INCH BOARD NAILED TO A TREE BEARS THE SIMPLE INSCRIPTION IN FRENCH: "TRAIN OF MARSHAL FOCH"



(Times Wide World Photos)

INTERIOR OF THE HISTORIC CAR IN WHICH THE FRANCO-GERMAN ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED, NOV. 11, 1918. THE RAILWAY COMPANY HAS PRESENTED THE CAR TO THE FRENCH REPUBLIC FOR PERMANENT PRESERVATION

Company. The latter, believing that it should become the property of the nation, offered it to the Government. Premier Clemenceau, in accepting, suggested that it be used as the dining car of the special train assigned to the President of the Republic and to foreign sovereigns visiting France. The company then fitted it up for this new use. To commemorate the great event of which the car had been the scene, the company placed upon it an allegorical decoration with two inscriptions, the first of which is as follows:

In this car was signed, at Franc-Port, near Compiegne, Nov. 11, 1918, at 5 o'clock, the armistice agreement imposed on the Germans by the victories of the allied armies. The Plenipotentiaries were: For the allied Governments, or the allied armies, Marshal Foch, Commander-in-Chief, together with Admiral Weymiss, First Lord of the British Admiralty; for the German Government, Secretary of State Erzberger, President of the German Legation; the Minister Plenipotentiary von Oberndorf, Major Gen. von Winterfeld and Naval Captain Vanselof.

The second inscription merely commemo- rates the following great battles:

THE MARNE (1914).

THE YSER (1914).

VERDUN (1916).

THE SOMME (1916).

BATTLE OF FRANCE (1918).

The car, reconstructed and decorated, was attached to the train which bore President Millerand to Verdun early in December. M. Poincaré, former President; the Ambassador of the United States, and Marshals Foch and Joffre were among the guests invited to witness the presentation. M. Noblemaire, Director of the railway company, rose after the presentation dinner and begged the President to accept this car, "in which was lived the most glorious hour of our history." M. Millerand, in accepting, expressed the wish that the car should be refitted exactly as it was when the armistice was signed, and be placed in a museum. It was expected that it would first be brought to the Invalides and would finally be removed to the War Museum, where a place of honor would be reserved for it.

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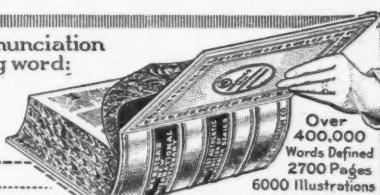
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